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THE REMEMBERED

There is one person in human history who cannot be forgotten. There is one series of events which has never been erased from memory. The man is Jesus, called by Christians and Muslims the Christ. The events are those which transpired in a brief period of less than two years, events which revolved around this amazing life and took their importance from him.

There is almost no contemporary report about this man. Josephus in his *Antiquities* mentions Jesus twice. Once in connection with the stoning of James, "the brother of Jesus who was called Christ," and a longer reference which is of questionable authenticity. By all normal standards Jesus should have melted into the great mass of the forgotten. But he did not! Without any significant record written at the time of his life and death he has survived. More than this he has survived the cleverly planned and carefully executed designs to eradicate his name from the records of man. At his death an attempt was made. His was an ignominious death. He was hanged on a cross as a common criminal. Those who beheld "mocked" him and "scoffed at him." "He saved others; himself he cannot save." What chance was there for him to exist beyond this ugly event? None, when computed by the normal pattern of existence. Yet somehow this man who suffered death on a cruel cross, "the symbol of disgrace and utter defeat," could not be scratched from the mind and memory of man. He who should have been "liquidated" forever by those who used the harshest form of death to destroy him, transformed the very vehicle used into "the symbol of sublime sacrifice and of redemption for all mankind."

In his own time Jesus could not be destroyed. He could be killed, be unreported by his contemporaries in their writ-

ten records, but he lived on in the hearts of those who knew him. Not only did he live as a memory, he lived as a driving force. This force of love, kindness and concern, this awareness of a peculiar relationship through him with a Power sufficient to sustain men in the worst because they shared constantly in the best, caused average men and women to live as if every human life had value and purpose. His spirit like a flame of fire spread in ever-increasing circles. The proud Caesars, masters of continents and of masses of human beings are gone, their names are indistinct. He whom they would have destroyed lives on among the faithful millions throughout the earth.

What the tyrants of old could not do the tyrants of this generation have attempted. Neither Hitler nor Stalin can prevail where others have failed. The compassionate remains.

It is pertinent to ask over and over again, how can such things be? "Nineteen wide centuries have come and gone (kings and princes, tyrants and commoners have arisen and disappeared) yet today He is the centerpiece of the human race and Leader of the Column of progress." E. Stanley Jones suggests an answer. In one of his reports he spoke of a conversation he once overheard wherein it was stated, "Jesus is the only somebody you can't match." From all the evidences of human history this appears to be a factual statement. As Emerson once phrased it, "His name is not so much written as ploughed into the history of the world."

Others we forget. Him we remember. Why? Because his life and work revealed the Eternal, even God Himself. Matthew caught this fact in a quick sentence, "He taught them as one having authority and not as the scribes."

In all the history of the world others have borne witness for God. Oftentimes it has been a clear and significant one. Such leaders as Moses, Muhammad and Gandhi, to name but a few, have caught a vision and passed it on to man. None would diminish their importance or significance, but there is one who is unique above all. Only of one man in all recorded history could it be stated with distinct validity, "And

the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." In some remarkable way Jesus "made the Divine personal for myriads of worshippers." Because of this he will live on among men. As long as there is in man a desire to know God, which seems to be perennial in the hearts of humanity, the name of Jesus will be remembered.

When the Christian witness was yet new in the world there were obstacles confronting it. Evil was in the saddle. Goodness, mercy and truth were trodden under foot. Jesus and his way could be followed only at tremendous personal peril. In spite of the barriers to their faith the early Christians did not succumb. They did not cry out in dismay, "Look what the world has come to." Instead they shouted in exaltation, "Look what has come to the world."

In our sad time evil is still in the saddle. The potential destruction is worse than could have been contemplated in former times. In our day there are many who are groaning in solemn dismay, "Look what the world has come to." Fortunately just as in earlier times there are others who are exclaiming with the grand good news, "Look what has come to the world."

Jesus Christ, God's emissary of love and mercy, is in our midst. If we could forget him there would be little promise for the future. Let us therefore seek to know him better and follow him altogether.

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THE MILLET SYSTEM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Protestant churches have just finished a period of one century in the lands of the Middle East, after having been recognized as a "Millet." Our purpose in this paper is to examine the effect of the "Millet" system upon the life of the church.

The historical background of this system. Sultan Muhammad the Conqueror, on the third day of his entry into Constantinople in 1453, made a proclamation that all should return to their houses and continue in their occupation and religion. Moreover he took measures for the election of a new Greek Patriarch to be chosen and consecrated according to this old usage. A monk called Genadius was elected by the Synod and was consecrated. The Sultan invited him to a festival and, according to the established custom of the Christian Emperors, presented him with a sceptre, addressing him, "Be the Patriarch and may Heaven protect you. Enjoy all the rights and privileges which your predecessors have enjoyed." His prerogatives and those of his church were further safeguarded by an Imperial Decree according to which the Patriarch represented the Greek community in its relation with the Ottoman State. He was granted also judicial powers to decide all cases affecting the members of his community bearing upon marriage, divorce, wills, etc., and the Bishops in the dioceses enjoyed the same prerogatives as the Patriarch in Constantinople.

This Millet system was not an innovation on the part of the Sultan Muhammad. The Byzantine emperors had allowed colonies of foreign commercial and religious communities to enjoy a considerable measure of autonomy in administering their own affairs. The Arab Muslim Caliphs had adopted this system in the occupied territories allowing the peoples to practice their religion by paying their taxes, and even before the Arabs, the Kings of the Sasanian Empire had used this system for the Christian communities in their territory with their special Councils and Patriarchs.

Sultan Muhammad established an Armenian Patriarch-

ate also in 1461 on the same basis. In the course of time, other non-Muslim religious groups in the Ottoman Empire were granted the same rights, so that in the early part of the 19th century the Sublime Porte had recognized the Greek Orthodox, Greek Melkite, Maronite, Gregorian Armenian, Catholic Armenian, Syrian Jacobite, Orthodox Coptic, Orthodox Chaldean, Catholic Chaldean, and Jews; and to those were added Protestants, every one of which constituted a distinct commonwealth with their prerogatives. The State adopted this administration as it was a Muslim state based on the Sharī'a Law which could not be enforced upon the non-Muslim communities; also with the purpose of holding those various religious groups at peace with one another under the protection of the State.

When the missionaries of the American Board came to Turkey, their original purpose was to preach the Gospel to the non-Christians but, at the same time, they took interest in the condition of the old Christian churches, particularly in the Apostolic Church of Armenia. There was already an awakening among the Armenians and a desire for the reformation of the church. Some bishops had come together and made a covenant to serve that purpose. The missionaries were interested in this movement, with no intention of forming a separate Protestant community, but these progressive Armenians were persecuted by the mother church, and finally were anathematized by the ruling Patriarch, and so they were obliged to organize themselves as a separate church as the Evangelical Church of Armenia, in 1846, in Constantinople. However, they were encountering serious opposition by the Armenian priests and bishops in the performance of their civil and religious responsibilities, and, in 1850, they were also granted the recognition as a separate "Millet" by an Imperial Charter. Thus the Protestant community was born as a separate "Millet Church" with its own head and council like the others.

Dr. Alford Carleton has given a detailed story of this movement in his doctoral dissertation at the Hartford Seminary Foundation, entitled "The Millet System for the Gov-

ernment of Minorities in the Ottoman Empire," and in an article, "Church and State in the Near East," in THE MOSLEM WORLD for July 1938. Those who are interested to know more, may refer to these writings.

Certainly this recognition of the Protestant community by the Ottoman Sultans was an event of the first importance. What were its effects upon the structure and the life of the church? Our purpose is to make some remarks on that point.

The first effect was naturally a release from the fear of persecution from outside, and the enjoyment of freedom in worship according to their beliefs. We know that the early Protestants were persecuted by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. By this recognition as a community, they were released from such terror and began to enjoy a respectable position in the country. The persecuted people became a respectable community. This was a great gain in their daily intercourse with their neighbors.

The second effect was the organization of the Protestant movement as a consolidated church with its proper clergy, liturgy and sacraments. They could now build their own church buildings, bury their own dead in regular cemeteries, could be married by their own clergy, and be registered with the government, and enjoy all the civil and religious privileges common to other communities with their council and chancellor (Vekil) in Constantinople, and others in the provinces as recognized by the government. That is what the Protestant communities are enjoying at the present time in the countries of the Near East.

But how did this official recognition affect the inner life of the church? Protestantism is essentially a spiritual movement. How did this new armor effect its activity?

First of all, this recognition by the State as a "Millet" limited the activity of the church in evangelizing their own kinsfolk. By being recognized officially, the Evangelical Church virtually accepted the position that the function of the church should be confined to activities within its community and should in no wise affect the other churches. Evangelism before this recognition meant the preaching of

the Gospel to everybody, everywhere. The Protestant movement expanded to all the corners of the Ottoman Empire and new churches were established in many places. After the recognition, evangelism meant the strengthening of the Protestant community itself. Since then the growth of the church has been mainly from within, with very little addition from outside. The Imperial Charter states: "This community shall in no wise be molested in its own affairs," which means that reciprocally it will not in any way interfere with the affairs of others. Here are all these communities with their recognized boundaries, free to conduct their own affairs but always within their own boundaries. Otherwise, "Trespassers shall be prosecuted."

Naturally this recognition barred completely any evangelistic action among the non-Christians. According to the Charter, a millet had a right to exist and to worship in its own way, but it had no right to make new converts from other Christian millets, and certainly not from the established religion of the State. This cut the very nerve of the whole Protestant body, whether missionary or indigenous, by preventing the members from preaching the Gospel to non-Christians, a thing which neither the missions nor the churches seem to have sensed at that time. They paid too big a price for their privilege.

This affected also the task of the Protestant minister himself. Whereas formerly he was a spiritual leader devoting his time and energy to spiritual activities, he now assumed the semi-political position of an official recognized by the State, attending to the affairs between the government and his flock. He became a National Bishop representing the community before the government with a respectable position, but with little time for the spiritual needs of the people, a malady of which most of our pastors have been suffering since. I remember my visit with the Protestant Vekil at the Protestant Chancellery in Constantinople some forty years ago. When I called at his office he came out of his inner chamber to see me, and asked me about my problem. When I told him that I had no official problem but had come to talk with

him on spiritual matters, he replied, "This is the Chancellery of the Protestant community. We don't discuss such problems here." Then he departed to his inner chamber again.

When a Christian church, especially an Evangelical Church, accepts this attribute of confining its activity within itself, it deteriorates spiritually and morally. The Church loses its vitality though it keeps itself outwardly elegant and strong. It is like preventing an athlete from bodily exercise in the open air and keeping him confined to a small room. His muscles deteriorate and become soft. This happened in the Protestant Church. The church settled down to the easy life of a millet and became prosperous and wealthy, but it lost its moral vitality. The moral difference between the life of the Protestant and the non-Protestant almost disappeared. "Protestant lie" became a nickname for clever falsehood and dishonesty; whereas formerly the word of a Protestant in business and government circles was accepted as absolutely true. The same was true in general piety, in keeping the Sabbath holy, in abstaining from intoxicating liquor and luxurious expenditures. Protestant morals became lax.

The total result of this recognition was that the Protestant church began to become a church among other churches and function like a semi-political and national body like the others. Whereas formerly Protestantism was a movement, and the Protestants a mobile army of witnesses, henceforth it took the form of a static body trying to defend itself against offenders. The spiritual body became a political body, equipped with all the armor of nationality, ready to defend itself against any intruders. To belong to the Protestant Church became a matter of pride. The Protestants began to feel themselves a semi-political body, thus losing its spiritual character.

It is very interesting to note that the Protestant churches in and around Constantinople took more easily the form of national or semi-political bodies than the churches in the provinces far from the center. In the capital to be a Protestant meant to belong to an official respectable group; in the provinces it meant rather to belong to a body with distinct

religious ideas. In one the political aspect was dominant; in the other the religious. It is no wonder that the great spiritual awakening of the early 1900's happened in those outside sections, and did not affect the capital and its vicinity. So that in the course of time there came about a real difference between the outlook of the Protestants in the capital and those in the provinces.

It is evident from this brief summary that the organization of the Protestant community as a "millet" in the Ottoman Empire has not been a pure blessing. Dr. E. Troeltsch, in his massive work on *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (English Tr. New York, 1931), has shown the differences between the two types of churches: the church type and the sect type. The church type is conservative and accepts the secular order; it utilizes the state and its ruling classes and weaves those elements into her own life, whereas the sect, in small groups, with greater independence of the world, emphasizes the original ideals of Christianity, but in the course of time, the sect type tends to revert to the church type. Applying this to our problem, we may say that Protestantism in the East started as a sect, molding its life according to the simplicity of early Christianity, but has been reverting to the old church type, thus losing its original vitality. In this change, its recognition as a "millet" has had a large share. In fact, the church today does not feel itself free to admit new converts into its membership. The church is a "millet" by law, and is bound with the implications of those regulations. If the Evangelical Protestant Church would be vitalized, it must be freed of such entanglements.

This raises the question of religious liberty in Muslim lands, a very complex question indeed. The trouble in the East is in this millet system by which communities are segregated from each other by thick walls. A way should be found to eliminate these divisions which hamper the State in matters of elections. There is already a growing feeling in some countries to do away with such distinctions which affect the whole structure of the State, requiring the nomination of persons for government offices according to their community

relations rather than their personal qualifications and characters. But this being impractical at the moment, efforts may be made at least to cancel the item of religious affiliation in the official registry of the state. If this could be achieved, the thorny question of the change of registration with the change of religious affiliation would be settled automatically.

It is my conviction that Protestantism has a very vital contribution to make to the peoples of these Eastern countries, both Christian and non-Christian,

IF:

a) We avoid nationalistic and ecclesiastical tendencies,
b) Recognize ourselves as a spiritual body with the purposes of serving the spiritual and moral regeneration of the peoples around us,
c) Adopt an organization that will be simple and elastic, capable of welcoming within its fellowship all those who love Jesus Christ sincerely.

In other words, we ought to be again a movement rather than an established church, a Koinonia rather than an Ekklesia, using two New Testament words. In the first the emphasis is on fellowship; in the other, on separateness. Let us not worry if we lose our hard and fast organization: we shall save our life.

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A BRIEF RÉSUMÉ OF THE ORIGINS OF MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS IN THE NORTHWEST FRONTIER PROVINCE (PAKISTAN)

The history of the opening of Christian missionary activity in the Northwest Frontier of what is now Pakistan is fascinating. The first Christian work in the border province was opened by the Church Missionary Society in 1853. But prior to the official establishment of the mission in the provincial capital of Peshawar a small but dedicated group of British military officers, among them a Major Martin who later became a missionary himself, used to meet regularly for prayer. One of the constant burdens of their prayer meetings was the opening of definite Christian work among the Muslims of the Frontier. There was need for such united prayer to God on behalf of such a project for it seemed that official opposition to missionary activity in the Frontier would hardly allow missionaries to come to Peshawar, much less begin work there. In 1852, when Lieutenant MacCartie (a member of the above-mentioned prayer meeting) approached the Commissioner of the province, Colonel Mackeson, for a contribution to the Amritsar Mission he received this reply: "I send you Fifty Rupees for the Amritsar Mission; but I take this opportunity of officially informing you, that *for political reasons* I shall oppose the passage of Missions across the Indus."[1]

Only a few months later, in 1853, Col. Mackeson was assassinated. An Afghan, pretending to present a petition to Commissioner Mackeson as he sat on his veranda, plunged a dagger into his heart when he began to read the paper.

The small prayer meeting in Peshawar wondered at this dramatic and tragic turn of events, but continued to pray for the opening of a mission to the Afghans. When Col. Mackeson's successor arrived they went at once to seek his

[1] Clark, Rev. Robert, *The Missions of the C.M.S. and C.E.Z.M.S. in the Punjab and Sindh*, p. 176. London, 1904.

permission to open missionary work in the Frontier. The new Commissioner, Colonel Herbert Edwardes, pondered the request a few moments and then declared in an historic statement:[2] "I see no difficulty in the matter of founding a mission. We protect the Hindu and Mohammedan in the enjoyment of their religion. It is the primary duty of the Christian to preach the Gospel of Christ."[3]

With such encouragement and promise of sympathetic support from the ranking government official of the province the Church Missionary Society acted promptly. They sent the Rev. Robert Clark in December, 1853, to Peshawar to meet with those vitally concerned and interested in a mission to the Muslims of the Frontier. On December nineteenth a public meeting was convened under the honorary chairmanship of Col. Edwardes to establish the Mission. Col. Edwardes' speech on this occasion was memorable in its acknowledgment of the missionary responsibility resting on the British by reason of their overlordship in India. He also voiced his conviction that, even in preaching Christ among the Pathans, the missionary force would be granted Divine aid and protection. The closing words of his speech are an indication of the positive and outspokenly-Christian character of the man: "Above all, we may be quite sure that we are much safer if we do our duty than if we neglect it; and that He Who has brought us here with His own right arm will shield and bless us, if in simple reliance upon Him we try to do His will."[4] The successful beginnings of the C.M.S. in Peshawar were due in no small measure to the work and cooperative sympathy of this warm-hearted Christian officer and administrator.

Others of the civil and military community also rallied to the support of the new Mission and gave liberally towards its support. Within a few weeks of that inaugural meeting above Rs. 30,000 had been given in the Peshawar district.

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[2] Historic, because it was the first time this reasonable and fair policy had been clearly enunciated by a responsible British officer in India.

[3] op. cit., p. 177.

[4] ibid., p. 179.

The first missionaries sent to Peshawar were the Rev. Dr. Carl Pfander, the Rev. Robert Clark and Major Martin. Dr. Pfander soon became a well-known figure in the streets and bazaars of the city where he regularly taught and preached the Gospel. He had been threatened before he began his preaching ministry, but went ahead boldly in the conviction that God Himself would protect him if only he obeyed Him and did His will. Though very direct and uncompromising in his approach to the Muslims of the city, Pfander was never harmed. He continued to preach openly in the city right through the perilous days of the Mutiny in 1857. He left Peshawar and India for work in other Muslim lands in 1858, having won the respect of both his missionary colleagues and British government officials. Col. Edwardes praised him highly and thought him a man peculiarly gifted for the missionary calling.

The first convert from Islam in the Peshawar Mission, Haji Yahiya Bakir, was the fruit of Dr. Pfander's work. Haji Yahiya Bakir had heard of Pfander in Agra and had started for Central Asia in search for him. The two met in Peshawar where, after a time of instruction in the Christian Gospel, the Haji Sahib was baptized. Only a few days after this the Muslims attempted to kill him by beating him and throwing him down a well. But by God's grace he recovered and for many years travelled through the southern Frontier area bearing a faithful witness to Christ.[5]

The Peshawar Mission School, which later developed into a large high school and a separate liberal arts college, was begun by the Rev. Mr. Clark with the assistance of Mr. Martin. Sons of many of the leading families in Peshawar and the district have graduated from this school. While hardly any of them have become Christian, it is felt that the influence the school has had upon them has been responsible for the open door for missionary work among the Frontier peoples. This favorable influence of the high schools (for in recent years the Elizabeth High School for girls was opened

[5] ibid., p. 191. Field, Rev. Claud, *With the Afghans,* London. pp. 78f.

as a fitting companion-in-service to the Edwardes High School for boys), the college and the hospital work can be felt and appreciated by the missionary evangelist preaching in city bazaar and village *hujrah*. The unselfish, loving service which these institutions have given to the Northwest Frontier has been, and will doubtless continue to be, a strong factor in preparing the way, softening prejudice among the Pathans, for the message of the evangelist.

The Peshawar Church, built on the cruciform plan and using quite faithfully the Mughal style of architecture, is largely the result of the labors of the Rev. T. P. Hughes, Islamics scholar who was a missionary in Peshawar from 1865 to 1884. The church was at first the object of criticism on the part of some C.M.S. supporters. Though the church was a beautiful structure and fitted in well with its decidedly Muslim surroundings, it was felt to be a contravention of C.M.S. policy to erect such a pretentious church on a mission station. The Rev. Robert Clark attempted to answer such criticism by pointing out the fact that the beautiful new church, symbolizing the solid establishment of the Christian congregation in the city, became a means of attracting several of the higher class Muslims in to hear the Gospel who otherwise would not listen to the preaching in streets and bazaars.[6] (Although this purpose was certainly fulfilled in the days just following the building of the church Muslims are rarely present at the services in the church today. Here the fault lies, not with the church building, but with the congregation which has had no welcome for the Muslim, no desire to win them to Christ. A deep and thorough-going revival of true spiritual life, including a loving concern to bring others to Christ, is imperative in the Christian congregation itself before Muslims will come in to hear the word of God.)

Although wives of C.M.S. missionaries sought to reach women of Muslim homes in Peshawar from the beginning of the Mission, work in the zenanas was more formally begun by Mrs. Scott in 1882. The Church of England Zenana Mis-

[6] Clark, op. cit., p. 190. Field, op. cit., pp. 38-9.

sionary Society opened a Zenana Medical Mission in 1883. In this Mission Dr. Marie Holst, Danish doctor who founded the Danish Pathan Mission in Mardan and was later martyred, received her early experience in Frontier medical work.[7]

The medical work in Peshawar, now centered in the famous Afghan Mission Hospital, was not opened until 1896 when two brothers, Drs. Arthur and Cecil Lankester established their hospital in a *serai* in the heart of the city.[8] Since then the hospital has grown into one of the most influential mission agencies on the Frontier. Dr. Cox, who served several years as missionary doctor in charge of the hospital, tells of the wide influence of this hospital in a recent C.M.S. booklet, *Signpost on the Frontier*. The hospital is known far and wide through the northern section of the Frontier and the hundreds of Afghan nomads who come to the hospital from across the border annually are an eloquent testimony to the fame of the hospital. In addition to the effective ministry of Gospel preaching and teaching carried on in the hospital itself the numerous contacts with the patients bring invitations into many of the villages of the outlying areas of Peshawar district.

Only briefly I wish to mention the work of the C.M.S. begun in the Derajat, the southern section of the N.W.F.P. In the three stations, Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu and Tank, work was opened by the Rev. Thomas Valpy French (afterwards first Bishop of Lahore) and Rev. R. Bruce in 1862. That missionary activity should begin in this southern section of the province was again due to the Christian devotion and missionary burden of a high-ranking British official, Colonel Reynell Taylor, the Commissioner of the Derajat. He wrote urgently recommending that the C.M.S. begin work there, and accompanying his recommendation was a personal gift of One Thousand Pounds to aid in establishing

[7] Clark, op. cit., pp. 196-7.
[8] ibid., p. 198.

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the Mission.[9] Medical work in Bannu was opened by that remarkable missionary, Dr. Theodore L. Pennell, in 1893. Feeling conscientiously bound to adopt the native Pathan mode of dress in order to identify himself with the people, Pennell soon won the hearts of the rough Pathan tribesmen. During his extremely active ministry in the Bannu area Dr. Pennell was able to itinerate through the district and even into some of the tribal villages of Waziristan lying beyond the border of administered territory.[10] To this day Dr. Pennell is remembered and spoken of by the older people in the Frontier cities.

In addition to the C.M.S., other societies have worked in the Frontier. As was mentioned above, Dr. Marie Holst opened medical missionary work in Mardan in the northern section of the Peshawar district hoping that this station would reach out into the hills of Malakand Agency, Dir, Swat and Chitral. This work in Mardan, called the Danish Pathan Mission, has never had a large staff, but Rev. Jens Christensen, present field director, has made an extremely valuable contribution to the missionary cause on the whole Frontier in his literature work. A recognized authority in the Pushtu language, he has recently done a new revision of the New Testament, written many tracts for evangelistic work, and is at present preparing an Urdu-Pushtu commentary on the New Testament.

The Central Asian Mission also worked in Mardan a number of years but finally turned over the greater part of its work, including a congregation of Punjabi Christians of Hindu outcasts background, to the Danish Pathan Mission. In recent years (approximately twelve years ago) one of the younger missionaries of the C.A.M., Mr. Jack Ringer, resigned from that Society when the decision was made to leave

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[9] ibid., pp. 200-7.

[10] Addison, James T., *The Christian Approach to the Moslem*, New York, 1942, pp. 226-8.

Pennell, Theodore Leighton, *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier*, Philadelphia, 1909, pp. 98-113.

Mardan and the Frontier and started his own work in Mardan on independent lines.

The work of Miss F. M. Davidson, through the past thirty-seven years, has been an heroic venture of faith and courage. Using her midwife's skill, filled with zeal for Christ and compassion for the common people among the Pathans, she has carried on an outstanding service of love and borne clear witness to Christ in Peshawar, Kohat and Hangu. Though past retirement age she is back in Kohat city today and continues her ministry of love to the people there.

But what of the results in terms of men and women won to faith in Christ through this nearly-hundred years of sacrificial missionary effort in the N.W.F.P.? Admittedly, this area has withheld its surrender to the tender and gracious invitation of the Savior of the world. The Frontier and Afghanistan are akin to Arabia in their rigid orthodoxy. Hence, to date converts have been few and far between. This has occasioned much heart-searching, prayer and conference among the missionaries serving in the Frontier.

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It seems safe to conclude that one of the reasons why the people of Iran have seemed more ready than other Muslims to listen to and accept the Christian message, is that their own great literature has provided them with glimpses of its truth. This is particularly true as to the personality and uniqueness of Jesus. Certain it is that Iranian thought has moved far beyond the meager, and often twisted, conception of Jesus which orthodox Islam provides, towards a far greater and richer personality. The name of Jesus is a familiar one in Iranian poetry, the Sufi poets in particular citing him as an exemplar and finding in his teachings and good deeds a fertile source of illustration.

The Inter-Church Literature Committee of Iran has recently published a brief anthology of Persian poetry having to do with Jesus, under the title of *Golchin-i Masihi* ("The Christian Bouquet"). The poets quoted cover a range of 800 years, beginning with Firdausi (A.D. 935-1020) and including one who lived in the 18th century. Mr. Abbas Aryanpur, who attended Alborz College in Teheran and is now in government service in Iran, has translated this anthology into English. Selections are given below, using Mr. Aryanpur's translation without change, except for a few synonymous words and phrases for the sake of euphony. The material itself was collected by the Rev. R. N. Sharp of Shiraz, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, who was assisted in the project by a number of Iranian Christians.

It is of interest to note that Mr. Aryanpur is a Persian poet in his own right. The 1951 publication list of the Inter-Church Literature Committee included "The Gospel of John in Verse," from his pen. This is a Persian poetical paraphrase which the Committee announces as "a faithful verse by verse reproduction of John's immortal Gospel in simple and eloquent poetry."

The selected quotations from *Golchin-i Masihi* have been rearranged in several groups as they echo different as-

pects of Christian truth. Those in the first group show the influence of the teachings of Jesus, including his parables.

Have you not seen what Jesus, the son of Mary said?
When he unfolded the hidden secret?
If thy shirt is taken by a man
Do not quarrel with him and do not be harsh.
If he strikes thee on the face
And if thy face become sour and dull because of it,
Do not become angry and do not get pale,
Quench thy anger and do not use cold words.

FIRDAUSI

He who found defects in himself, Must be considered the most perfect in religion by you.
He who considered himself ignorant, Must be known by you as the true wise man.
And he who did not think much of himself, Must be considered the seeker choosing the truth.
The man of knowledge sure of his own ignorance, Must be known by you as a truthful man,
And he who does not see himself, Must be recognized by you as the innocent who sees God.
If a well-praised man speaks ill of himself, Count him as Jesus residing in the heavens.

NEZAMI

Thou canst not kill the people when thou gettest a sword
For the Lord will not forget thy evil.
This sword is not intended for cruel men
Nor are the grapes in the winepress simply for wine.
Jesus met a person killed on the way while passing
And in surprise he bit his finger-tips with his teeth
"Whom have you killed", he said to the dead man, "that you are so cruelly killed?
And who will, in turn, kill thy murderer?"
If you do not want some one to wear out his fists knocking at your door
Do not wear out your fingers knocking on the doors of others.

RUDAKI

Close thine eyes from the defects of others, Look at your own face and find faults therein.
There is both good and bad in everything, Do not see the bad in order to get the good.

How can the peacock be blamed for its feet, when its feathers are covered with gold?
The feet of Christ who covered the world, chanced to pass by a small bazaar.
A dead dog was thrown on the road, and life had deserted its corpse.
A crowd had gathered round the corpse, like vultures who gather to eat the dead.
The horror of this, said one, causes darkness, like that caused by blowing out a lamp.
If you want to know, said another, this causes blindness of eye and disease of the heart.
Every person present sang a special tune, thus doing some despite to the corpse.
But when Jesus' turn came to speak, he passed by defects and got to realities.
Of the goods, he said, that are found in its body, the pearl is not as white as its teeth.
Seek not other peoples' defects and your own goodness. Think of your own defects.

NEZAMI

I have heard that Jesus came out of the desert, and passed by a hermit's hut.
The hermit came out of his hut, and fell at Jesus' feet with his head bowed.
An unhappy sinner was also bewildered by him, like a moth dazzled in the light,
Waiting penitent and downcast like a dervish before a rich man.
Ashamed of himself, he was apologizing with burning heart,
Of nights passed to days in neglect. He was weeping like the rain out of sorrow
And saying: "Woe, my life has been spent in negligence.
"I have spent the cash of my life and have not gained any good deeds.
May none like me live forever, for my death is much better than my living.
Happy is the person who died in childhood, for he did not feel ashamed in old age.
Forgive my sins, O Creator of the World, for if they accompany me, I shall be disappointed."
His head was cast down in disappointment, the tears of regret pouring down his face.

At this corner was crying the old sinner, saying "O Helper, help me."
The hermit, with a proud head, frowned at the sinner from afar,
Saying: "Why is this wretched man after us? How is this wretched ignorant person worthy of us?
Thou art falling in the fire downright. Thou has given thy life for naught.
What good comes to thy selfish self, to accompany Christ and me?
What were you, who took trouble ahead of you and went to hell following your deeds?
I do not become concerned at your unhappy star, lest your fire also fall on me.
On the Judgment Day, when all gather, O God do not put me in company with him."
At this time a revelation came to Jesus from the Highest Virtue,
Saying "The one is a learned man and the other ignorant; I accept both.
The man who has spent his days in sin and wretchedness, has wept to me in despair.
I shall not count out any one who comes to me hopeless, out of my generosity
I forgive all their evil deeds. I will take him to Paradise by my favour.
And if the lover of worship is ashamed of sitting with the sinner in Paradise,
Tell him not to be ashamed of him in the resurrection day,
For the sinner will be taken to Paradise, and he to the Fire.
For he was desperate in agony and trouble, while the other depended on his worship.
The helpless man does not know that at the court of the All-Wealthy,
Helplessness is far better than pride and insolence.
He who has a clean robe but unclean character should not have a key out for the door of hell.
At this threshold, inability and poverty are far better than worship and thinking of self.
You are bad if you count yourself as one of the good, for self is not involved in God.
If you are a man, do not speak of your manliness, every polo-player does not win the ball.
The clumsy onion became all peel for it thought it had a kernel like the pistachio.

This type of worship is not good. Go bring an apology for shortcomings in worship.
Both the unhappy and distressed knave and the hermit making things difficult for himself
Do not benefit from worship, they are good to God and bad to men of God.
Words remain as a memorial of a wise man, hear but this word from Sa'adi:
The sinner who fears God is better than a godly man who parades his worship."

SA'ADI

The Iranian poets turned frequently to Jesus and Christian ideas as they described man's sense of sin and need for forgiveness and for the denial of self, which are often conspicuous by their absence in the Muslim indoctrinated with orthodox Islam.

O God do not reduce the essence of my faith,
For I consider thee the Cherisher of the slaves in the two worlds.
O God, cleanse my unclean self, so that until eternity
I may call myself eternal like Jesus.

ATTAR

Take thou the hand of God and come out of this deep well
Even tho' thou art laden with thousands of cruelties, evils and injustices.
O thou invalid, do not stare at the physician
For there is waiting at the door a Jesus, son of Mary.
O Heart awaken and saddle the horse of surrender, and leave to the mean this transitory world.
Clean up the characters of color and smell from the line of virtue.
Wipe out from the board of the heart all sketches of noise and wrangle.
There must be a man like Jesus the son of Mary in the road of truth,
In order to recognize the value of the words of the Gospels.

SANAYI

Your body is a Roman (white) and your heart a Negro (black)
Go away, for this is not the way of sincerity.

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What relation has a Roman body to a Negro heart?
Choose one color. Why two colors?
Leave the two colors to those who are of two colors.
For being of two colors is ignominy and shame.
It is better to seek remedy from Christ, that thou mayest rid thyself of this defect.

JAMI

O, my heart, get acquainted with the way of truth, If thou art seeking to find an acquaintance,
If whims and self deceive thy wisdom, Consider only thy breath enabling thee to conquer self.
Get away from existence like Jesus. You are a saint if you practice this way.

ATTAR

The most familiar Christian theme of the Iranian poets is Jesus himself, his purity, his healing powers and especially his power over death.

If you go to heaven as clean and incorporeal as Christ;
A hundred rays from you will reach the sun.

HAFIZ

I will not be concerned if Christ comes late to my pillow
For I know he comes to the pillow of a man who thinks lightly of his own life.
I found health thru' union with thee, and the illness was only a blame,
For how can a person remain ill when Christ comes to his pillow?

URFI

If you go to heaven as clean and incorporeal as Christ;
Possess the certainty and the faith of Christ, and then claim Christhood.
If thou wantest to be eternally alive as Jesus
Change life to death and death to life.

SANAYI

Do you not see that he who became self-sacrificial,
And he who faced destiny, became the ruler?

Since Jesus walked in non-existence for a while
The lifeless corpse found life thru' his death.

SANAYI

The monastery of Jesus is the dining table of the followers of the truth.
Beware, O sinner, do not miss this gate.
People gathered from all corners, the crippled, the lame, the people of the cloak (mystics).
In the morning Jesus appeared at his cell, that by his breath he might save them from sins.
When he finished his supplications he came out of his place at mid-day.
He met desperate sufferers group by group, waiting at the door full of hope and expectation.
Then he prayed and said, "God has met all your petitions and intentions.
Lo, you go without trouble and pain because of God's grace and forgiveness."
All of them, like hobbled camels which were released and let go,
Became healthy and walked at once, thru' the life-giving breath of Jesus.
All of them without trouble and sorrow, healthy, happy and respected.
By the breath of that Sovereign, all went to their homes.

JALAL-ED-DIN RUMI

Do not see Jesus' words and letters when he speaks, but see that death escaped from him;
Do not see the common dialects he used as he spoke, but see that the dead leaped up.

JALAL-ED-DIN RUMI

Said Jesus: "I swear to the pure God who initiated the body and made life in the past, that
I read the great name of the Lord to the deaf and to the blind and they were healed.
I spelled it on the dead body and it became alive, I read it to nothing and it became something."

JALAL-ED-DIN RUMI

Finally, two quotations are given having to do with the Trinity, one an Iranian poet's reconciliation of this Chris-

tian doctrine with the unity of God and the other a famous couplet regarding the Holy Spirit.

O my lovely one, I said to a Christian beauty at the church, "I
am caught in the net
of thy love. How long will you not find the way to the unity
of God?
How long will you bear the ignominy of the Trinity for the One?
How is it possible to call the One God the Father, the Son and
the Spirit?"
She opened her lovely mouth and spoke, while a smile appeared
on her sweet lips:
"If you are aware of the secret of unity, do not accuse us of
blasphemy,
For the Everlasting Witness removed the veil from his own shin-
ing face in three mirrors.
Silk will not be three if you call it painted silk, shot silk, or
silk cloth."
When we were thus talking, we heard from a distance the sound
of church bells,
"There is but One and nothing but One," said the bell in har-
monious tune;
"He is one and there is no God but Him!"

HATEF ISFAHANI

If the grace of the Holy Spirit once again gives help,
Others will also do what Christ did.

HAFIZ

WILLIAM N. WYSHAM

New York City

THE SPUR OF THE MOMENT II

The Western world in general is coming to an increasing sense of Asia as a vast imponderable in the contemporary scene. Long apparently inert under the weight of its own venerable past, Asia is now shaping a revolutionary future, towards which its immense populations are moving with mingled aspiration and foreboding. Communism is firmly and fervently in occupation of the area which has long regarded itself as "the Middle Kingdom." Red China is in no sense "the Far East" to any of its neighbors on the Pacific shoreline or in the Asian hinterland. It stands poised for great new spiritual and political expansion into territories uneasy, restless and uncertain. The West also is uneasy—fearful of what may yet be in store for its interests and its ideals, from the mingling of contempt and imitation, of repudiation and wistfulness, with which Asia regards it. "TIME" finds that Dr. Musaddiq—somewhat apologetically—is "the man of 1951," because he represents forces and trends, which, however, no man of any year apparently knows how to control.

If the Western hemisphere is apprehensive in the presence of Asian stirring in the world, the Christian Church—both East and West—is also concerned, but with a concern of a different quality, because its criteria and dimensions are eternal. It is concerned to play a truly Christian role in the creation and criticism of the new. Our responsibility here is with the Muslim part of that Asian whole and with the relation of the Christian faith and mission to its present situation. In January last some thoughts were set down on the current opportunity of Islam in terms of the religious summons implicit in the physical distraction of the Muslim East. We considered how Christianity might lovingly and patiently relate itself to the problems besetting Muslim nations because of over-population, social injustice, oppressive land laws, sudden wealth and, supremely, the legacy of the Palestine tragedy, in the afflictions of mind, body and estate among the refugees. It was argued that we are most likely to make the Christian faith evident as we bring it redemptively into the very problems with which Islam is faced in its new era of self-responsibility and aspiration. The Church may become relevant and meaningful as never before in the whole history of Muslim-Christian relations, if it can be seen to bear, creatively in terms of thought and actively in terms of ministry, upon the actualities of the present time, concerning which Muslim apology is so confident and Muslim obligation so exacting. It was suggested that we might best communicate Christ, if we allowed Him to say again, in situations that so

deeply need the words: "Give ye them to eat," "Take these things hence," "Learn of Me" and perhaps even more insistently than these —"Ye believe in God, believe also in Me."

The division then proposed in the study of the current crisis-opportunity of Islam concerned the physical and the intellectual. It is the purpose of these pages now to elaborate the second. It needs no arguing that every self-respecting religious interpretation of life and the world, concerned for the quality, if not also about the fact, of its survival—concerned to persist not as some museum piece or as the sleeping partner in some political expression, the relic of a historic culture—must address itself to a deep and honest reckoning with its intellectual responsibilities. It cannot be content with an allegiance which derives from considerations of political utility or racial pride. It must be concerned that its adherents belong to it in the fullest intellectual persuasion of mind and heart. Not least is this the case with a faith which refuses to be amorphous and absorbent, but which stands as the trustee of a distinctive revelation claiming to be Divine, which insists that it transcends and rules all resulting culture. We have known in Christendom for more than a century the theological travail inseparable from true continuity in face of the exacting criticism of the changing world. It needs little imagination to see that Islam also is faced with the same summons, with the only difference that the issues are at once more concentrated and more urgent, and the time more pressing. What follows attempts to analyze how far contemporary Islam has recognized and coped with this obligation and what ought to be the relation of the Christian Church, within the faith and love of Christ, to the mental situation disclosed in the analysis.

Before surveying, as we must, the changes which lay this duty upon Muslim thought, it may be well to forestall in advance a possible contention tending to minimize the importance of the responsibility in question. It may be argued that religions contrive very well to survive and to satisfy, or at least to express, the religious needs and yearnings of humanity, irrespective of their mental adequacy in terms of intellectual apology. History affirms that even obscurantism has tremendous survival power. Theological incompleteness or confusion does not necessarily make for religious weakness. Are there not multitudes of simple, illiterate, unpretentious souls, whose lives are very close to the sorrows, the finitude and elemental needs of existence, not least in the Middle East, for whom theological refinements are meaningless? The standard of living is vastly more urgent than the standard of theology. The factors which fasten a religion upon the affections and its forms upon the behavior are emotional,

not rational. It is an unwarranted presumption on the part of the intellect to suppose that religious survival depends upon its being satisfied.

Perhaps. There is truth in these attitudes. But it is the quality of religious survival, not the mere fact of it, which is in question. In the last analysis, it is the minority which generates an active irreligion and it is the minority which keeps a faith in living being—the minority, that is, of thought. There may be a long time lag, but popular religion cannot permanently survive the evaporation of spiritual and intellectual conviction. Moreover, the field is not empty of challenge. There are strident voices appealing for allegiance, active and aggressive systems founded on vigorous philosophies, which cannot be thwarted by traditions of behavior or countered by sentiment. It is a familiar Muslim saying, attributed to the Prophet: "Seek knowledge though it be in China." If there is one lesson unmistakable in that quarter in the contemporary world it is that an ancient pattern of belief and behavior cannot survive a fundamental hostility of mind, if it has no adequate justification in the realm of thought. It is the superior ideas which conquer in the end. The lesson of the worsting of Confucianism in the struggle with Marx and Mao is that all religious systems are doomed if they cannot out-think and outmatch that eager alternative. It is dangerous in the highest degree to suppose that because religious systems, inattentive to their intellectual obligations, have sometimes survived, they therefore always must. Everything depends upon the nature of the competition and upon the quality of that minority to which has been given the duty of leadership. It is in their hands that the future of the more popular faith and cultural traditions rests. They may be relatively few, but they are crucially important. It is to them, therefore, that the Christian Church owes a particular duty of love in the truth, and this may be said—and it must be discharged—without any neglect of an active ministry of love in service to the unnumbered multitudes who may have no mind or stomach for the world of thought.

No time need be spent in saying that the modern challenge to religion presses heavily upon the Islamic faith. It is evident. We used to think in the 19th Century and perhaps a little longer that the greatest issues were raised by science. History has surely now become the more clamant and exacting source of doubt. Perhaps they belong together since the mystery of history is sharpened by the works of science. Dogma, theology, religious ethics, have to face their dual pressure upon the faith and the faithful. There are the external works of science in new industrialism, mass communication, public health, and all the other results of mechanical inventiveness. The aeroplane has joined the pyramid on the Egyptian sky-line. The

stream of Fords and Cadillacs flows by the minaret and the camel, supercilious as ever, sees pipes of oil as well as the eternal sands. The new transforms the old in a hundred ways. Religion must address itself to the new possibilities of wealth, the glimpse of a better standard of living, the new energies of mind and will which follow upon preventive medicine, a growing sense of the power of man in control of nature and a corresponding recession in the immediacy of God to daily life. Applied science is everywhere educative in new outlooks, disruptive of old patterns and corrosive of ancient habits of thought and behavior. In the changed physical world potent forces, hitherto excluded from the reach of millions, begin to transform both their habitat and their pre-possessions. In some respects it becomes even physically difficult to continue the old practices. The chorus of mechanical noise competes with the muezzin in the soul as well as in the street.

Nor is this all. There is much more. Beyond the works of science are the thoughts of the scientist. We must wrestle with the pre-suppositions which produced the science. The sense of conformity in nature, of law discoverable by experiment and adaptable by the right technique, emphasizes by contrast the particularity and, scientifically considered, the abnormality, of revelation. The 'how' and the 'whence' of valid knowledge are questions making inspired Scriptures seem suspect or, at least, in need of deeper validation than orthodoxy makes or allows. There is the supreme issue transcending the epistemological, namely the reconciliation between the vast, mysterious, unfathomed universe as known to science and the familiar dogmas of creation and of Deity.

When we pass from science to history, from inventive investigation in the world, to the whole movement of life and thought and civilization in the flow of time, the issues are weightier still. Is there to be found in religion what we so urgently need—a principle of order, of interpretation and of hope, by which to comprehend and govern the historical manifold which confronts contemporary man? Maybe religion itself is too much identified with temporal cultures, too much compromised in the evils and errors which the present inherits from the past. Civilization needs to have explained to itself the meaning of its own inner precariousness. On what grounds can history be hopefully interpreted? How is its movement to be understood? What lessons does it teach as to its origin and its goal? How is man to come by the wisdom and the vigor to act within history at such a moment as the present? History is indeed the greater burden, for it concerns the whole of which science is merely a part.

It is not that religious faith is here assumed a failure. On the contrary. What is assumed, in view of these questions which our age asks

so urgently, is that it must rise to the full measure of its task. It must be measured against the entire challege of the contemporary bewilderment, not immunized from it by littleness of mind or introspective ecclesiasticism or evasive dogmatism. For the Christian Church this means a new and more creative yearning for the non-Christian world, a new and more complete relation of its life and doctrine to the internal travail of other religious faiths. For the challenge is common to them all and bears most exactingly upon the two world-wide monotheisms which arose in the Near East. Christianity and Islam have much the widest racial and numerical dispersion, and by that fact, as well as by their inner nature, owe a unique responsibility to contemporary man. In domestic theological travail and in the calling to world mission, the Christian Church has been wrestling for one and a half centuries past with this double obligation—striving both to know and to show the whole truth in Christ as the answer to the cry of the age: "What must we do to be saved?"

It is the conviction of the present writer that the fulness of that answer will be mediated to Islam—with a joyful spontaniety never yet actual in the long and disappointing history of Muslim-Christian relations—when Muslims themselves, by the inward urge of truth, come into active recognition of this modern summons as it confronts them equally. For Christianity will then be addressing needs that are felt and issues that are vital, not competing externally for an allegiance which is pre-empted, but offering itself and the Christ it has in trust as the Christian satisfaction of the self-same needs. The development of the modern challenge to religion has placed Christianity and Islam in a position more potential for mutual understanding than at any other point in their history. For it has confronted Islam with the identical situation, the facing of which has been for Christians an occasion of theological renewal. The travail of that renewal enables the Church to speak to the very heart of the Muslim situation: the fruit of it is an experience of truth in Christ constructively relevant to every alert Muslim. So there is hope that the very demands upon Islam of an adequate Muslim apology, once they are fully understood, will pre-dispose the Muslim mind to an objective and dispassionate assessment of Christian experience under the same pressure, and therefore, in turn, of a more sympathetic awareness of the total content of Christianity. Creatively to serve that hope by an activity subdued to its own proper spirit is the clear contemporary duty of the Church. It used, unhappily, to seem that Christianity merely put Islam on the defensive, so that its normal reaction was essentially an anti-Christian one, such as that inspiring the Aḥmadiyya movements. But Islam is now put on the defensive most urgently, not by a religion supposedly a rival, but by forces that are

veritable and aggressive foes. May it not be that because of the real foe, the erstwhile and putative rival might begin to be regarded, tentatively perhaps but gratefully, as a source of light, of understanding and of salvation? The obvious hindrance to such a result is, of course, the deep political estrangements of the present, of which more in the July issue. But if these do not disqualify the hope, it can be said that in the current religious situation in Islam, created by secularism, Communism and the rest, there are factors which might conduce Islam, for the first time in history, to a positive, serious reckoning with what Christianity has to say. But whether it happens depends under God upon the degree to which Muslims respond to their own interior responsibilities and upon the patience, love and imaginative sympathy of the Christian Church.

The Contemporary Muslim Apology. What can be said in summary form of recent Muslim criticism and interpretation of Islam? It is not possible here for reasons of space to make a fully documented survey. Particular authors may be expounded in later issues by various reporters. In the last number Dr. Kermit Schoonover, of Cairo, contributed a brief summary of the outstanding Arabic authors. Not all of these are directly occupied with apologetic and there are others no longer living who were. We have also to draw here upon the important and often much more venturesome field of writing in Pakistan. The range of thought and expression since Muḥammad 'Abduh and Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khan is extensive. Our immediate purpose must be to try and distil its main significance and to assess the direction and quality of the leadership it gives. Let it be understood that the spirit of a Christian assessment of what Muslims are thinking in face of their modern context is neither censorious nor patronizing. Its purpose is to understand and to serve.

We noted in January last the general confidence and aspiration of Muslim writing. It is genuinely believed that Islam, whose medieval leadership in culture is well-known, is calculated to be the one sufficient faith for the 20th Century. There are few areas of modern thought and life, from evolution to banking, with which Islam is not linked by its apologists, either as a clue or as a solution. Whether in Iqbal or in the Al-Azhar Journal, or in any intervening representatives of Muslim thinking, ample evidence can be found of an acquaintance with modern works, from Descartes to Bergson and from Newton to Einstein, and of the ambition to show that Islam is abreast of all they have to say. Though it has its dangers—the dangers of complacence and perhaps too easy assumptions,—this attitude also has its potentialities. At least it means that apathy and indifference have been abandoned and Muslim apology can legitimately be held to the reach and height of its own aspirations. Whatever its delin-

quencies may be, they have to be measured by the criteria of its own sense of competence.

Nor should it be supposed that such aspirations are wholly uncritical. Consider the following discussion of the place of the mosque in Muslim life today, taken from the first volume of *Faiḍ al-Khāṭar*—a series of essays by Dr. Aḥmad Amīn, now running to eight volumes.[1] The writer relates a discussion with an Englishwoman about the role of the Church in education in the West. He then asked himself of the mosque in Islam. Could it not also play a great role, in education, culture and ministry? Could it not be to the soul what the hospital is to the body? Ought it not to awake to its duty to women and to mothers and its debt to society? But what is the actual state of affairs? Unhappily mosque and people are mutually estranged. Only the poor and the aged are attracted to the mosque, while the rich and the young throng the cinema down the road. But does the mosque deserve respect? asks the writer. Hardly. Mosque sermons are dull and unchanging. Their message is: "Be pious toward God"—*ittaqū 'llāha*—with no further elaboration. The living problems and bewilderments of men find no place there. Preachers do not know how people talk, nor how they pray in their own hearts. So people have reason for their alienation. If the mosques offered a true spiritual home and religious and social satisfaction, they would be thronged.

Such criticism is not negative: it is wistful. Nor is it exceptional. Dr. Ṭaha Ḥusain's *Mustaqbal al-Thaqāfa fī miṣr*[2] ("The Future of Culture in Egypt") treats the same problem as it belongs to Al-Azhar and education in general. Independence, having been attained politically, must be merited and utilized educationally. This means freedom from the dead-hand of Al-Azhar dogmatism and the establishment of genuinely free scholarship, untrammelled by religious prejudice in its pursuit of truth. In literary fields, men of stature have successfully asserted and propagated such standards. But in this respect, literary fields are more amenable than theological. Objectivity in research and freedom in criticism have seldom yet been brought to bear in any sustained way upon the central issues of

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[1] Aḥmad Amīn, *Faiḍ al-Khāṭar*, Volume 1, 1942, p. 188-191. Dr. Aḥmad Amīn is a noted University leader and teacher in Cairo, a historian, and a regular contributor to *Al-Hilāl*.

[2] Dr. Taha Husain: *Mustaqbal al-Thaqāfa fī miṣr*, Cairo. 1938. The book was written in 1938 when the Anglo-Egyptian treaty was still regarded as a landmark in Egyptian independence and was meant to celebrate it by a corresponding educational advance. The same writer when he deals with the Qur'ān and early Muslim history adopts the form of semi-imaginative writing and expressly excludes critical scholarship; e.g., *'Alā Hāmish al-Sīrā*, 3 Vols., Cairo, 1933 and *Al-Wa'd al-amīn*, 1951.

Muslim theology. The *'ulamā'* who know their Islam have moved little and those who seem to have moved far have imperfectly grasped what they had to carry with them. By and large the points where Muslim mental activity has come to grips with orthodoxy have been on the circumference. 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq startled Egypt in 1928 with his rejection of the whole theory of the Caliphate as then received, but this was partly inspired by political realism and for practical purposes the current situation has approved it. Dr. Ṭaha Ḥusain similarly aroused the anger of conservatism by theories of literary history involving the Qur'ān, but these studies were not directly theological and the bitterness to which they exposed the author seems to have precluded an exercise of the same academic freedom in still more provocative areas awaiting it.

Nevertheless these and similarly frank discussions of historic attitudes, in the fields of law and literature, are not to be despised. The gradual establishment of standards of critical scholarship is a genuine and solid growth which must give future evidence of its value in the field of religious history and theology.[3] But if that gradual penetration is to be awaited, it has to be recognized that so far it has not to any appreciable degree occurred. The reservations of theological discussion are still massive. Often, too, it is preoccupied with issues which might be ignored, or at least more severely disciplined, in the pursuit of larger themes. Some forms of Christian controversy may be in part to blame for this. But how sad it is that so many conservatives, like Abul-l-Ala-Mawdudi in India or writers in *Liwā' al-Islām* in Cairo, are concerned about items of apology which by other standards of apologetic obligation would be treated as very secondary. The urgent questions of the total religious validity of the Prophet's mission are left to silence, while words are endlessly multiplied about his marriages and his defensive wars. In neglect of the supreme question: How far is Muḥammad to be understood as a man of his time? writers spend themselves expounding his exemplariness. The Qur'ān is vindicated as having anticipated modern science, with no reconciliation of supernatural revelation and the premises upon which science proceeds. Simple forms of the teleological argument for the existence of God do duty for the whole issue with atheism or scepticism, with probably a reminder that the Qur'ān inspired empirical science. Muḥammad is proclaimed as the seal of the Prophets, but no effort is made to set that finality alongside, for example, the prophethood of Amos or Hosea. The tolerance of Muslim civilization is extolled, without a creative effort to discuss what that tolerance

[3] Dr. Ṭaha Ḥusain believes that the battle for academic freedom is finally won. See *Islam Today*, ed. R. Landau and A. J. Arberry. 1943. Article on Egypt, pp. 93f.

should mean in inter-religious relationships in the present day. The practical ideality of Muslim ethics is the theme of enthusiastic writing, but there is little sympathy for the chronic difficulties of a technical age or reference to the intricacies of modern sociology. So there is a certain naivete about the moral and social solutions offered. The deeply troubled spirit is too often left deploring the significant silences in the wordy assertiveness. The average apologist's satisfaction with hortatory themes of self-evident merit betrays a spirit which has in no sense taken the measure of contemporary issues, whether within or without the faith. Perhaps this situation is in part a reflection of the poverty of our Christian communication, for even if the fulness of Christ be greeted with resistance at least it should search and awaken its rejectors.

This leads into another disquieting feature of the present mentality,—the Muslim tendency to regard all criticism as malicious and all difference as wilful. Even impartial orientalists, who have no witness they wish to communicate and no purpose save the academic, have been rewarded with suspicion.[4] All too often there is the inclination to write off all non-Muslim assessments of Islam, as either ignorant or tendentious. As long as every differing system, whether secular or religious, is regarded as already condemned, no fellowship from without will be taken seriously. Apologists will remain timid and assertive at the same time, regarding their work much as a self-righteous man his virtues, while the generality of believers will sense no vital quality in their enterprise. Moreover, this attitude goes ill with the claim of Islam to be the final religion superseding all others in completing them. It is a corollary of such a claim that Muslim scholars should be ready patiently to show how this is so, through objective study of those deficient systems. Christianity in particular looks to Islam to learn from it in what senses Islam has done greater justice to Christianity than Christianity does to Islam. Is it only perverseness and blindness which cause Christians to remain so? Islam surely owes itself an open-hearted investigation of the reasons. Yet such study of Christianity seems nowhere to be recognized in Islam as a duty inseparable from its own claim, nor does the necessary temper for it appear to exist in any strength. The Christian Church, for its part, still yearns for the time when it can speak out of the fulness of its faith, to the heart of Islam, in the utter openness of mutual trust. Will the 20th Century see the hope a fact?

Space remains for one further characteristic of recent Muslim

[4] The Muslim reviews of H. A. R. Gibb's *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago, 1947, might be taken as an example.

thought—a feature which arises from the co-existence of the desire to present Islam as abreast of the modern world and the pre-disposition to disallow radical criticism. These result inevitably in a certain compromise of intellectual consistence. The apologetic mind becomes inured to making claims which taken separately are inconsistent, until it ceases even to see its duty in their reconciliation. A conspicuous example of this characteristic—extreme, it is true, but by no means unique, is Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl, whose name has become almost a legend in Pakistan. His widely circulated Lectures on the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*[5] attributed to the Qur'ān meanings anticipatory of the philosophy of creative evolution preached by Bergson and Bernard Shaw in the first quarter of this century. When the Qur'ān speaks of the "days" of creation, it is referring "to the serial and non-serial aspects of creation."[6] The destiny of a thing as assigned to it by God means that "every moment in the life of reality is original, giving birth to what is absolutely novel and unforeseeable." A. N. Whitehead's familiar philosophy of 'process' is implicit in the Quranic account of the succession of night and day.[7] The doctrine that God does not beget and is not begotten is associated with Bergson's belief that "individuality harbours its enemy at home"—the instinct to reproduce bespeaking incompleteness.[8] Even the tremendous Muslim doctrine of "Allah" can be interpreted as the truth of a growing deity, in conformity to current ideas.

Iqbāl is not to be reproved for delving into Bergson, or Shaw or Freud, nor for desiring to integrate what he found to approve in them with his Muslim loyalty. On the contrary, that instinct is the very matrix of apology. What is reprehensible is his failure to examine the immediate, historical bearings of the Quranic passages to which he gave these new meanings. The old and the new must be reconciled far more radically than is possible when ancient words are thus subjectively treated. The first pre-requisite is surely a full estimate of what has to be reconciled. The Qur'ān emerges from these Lectures in the strange guise of a 20th Century exposition of time, reality and God. What shall be said of the apologist who permanently ignores how such positions came to be embodied in the 7th Century preaching of a Prophet in Arabia, to audiences whose prepossessions concerned tribal prestige, poetic eloquence, social tabus and traditional idolatry? What can be the merit of interpretations

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[5] Sir Muhammad Iqbal: *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* Lahore 1930. Revised edition Oxford 1934.

[6] ibid. p. 49-50.

[7] ibid. p. 46-47.

[8] ibid. p. 63-64.

which ignore primary meanings and in effect de-islamize long generations of believers who never had the wisdom to understand what the Qur'ān really meant? Ibqāl condemned fatalistic Muslims for reading their views into the Qur'ān "at the expense of the plain meaning."[9] What he appeared not to see was that he had done greater violence to it himself and so doing compromised a better cause. He was not alone in this attitude and his posthumous influence in Pakistan tends to its further diffusion. But as long as it persists the full weight of the apologetic task will be neither felt nor shouldered.

This phenomenon carries us to a final consideration. If the effect of much apology is to raise the question whether what is being commended is the real Islam, or conversely, whether the real Islam is being renewed, then the further question cannot long be delayed: What is the test of continuity through change and what is the legitimate organ of development? It would be futile to argue with Lord Cromer that "Islam reformed is Islam no longer."[10] All living things are actively related to the time that passes over them. This means a right mental attitude to their own past and recognizable criteria and agents of valid development. Perhaps it is here that the explanation lies, if Muslim intellectual leadership has not been more adequate to its task. Genuine initiative is hampered because of an intimidating fear of disloyalty which makes loyalty uncreative, both in the individual and in the community. True self-criticism cannot operate rightly until it is admitted as a prime condition of proper continuity, and has recognized and honored means of expression.

The public voice in Islam has long been the pride of Muslims. *Ijmā'* and *ijtihād* are cited as organs of popular opinion, through which a religious democracy, a "concensus fidelium," can find expression. But *ijmā'* and *ijtihād* have become ineffective organs of change. They relate only to what is not already covered by the Qur'ān and the Sunna and conservatives still resolutely argue that the area of their operation has long been foreclosed by their own earlier exercise. Furthermore there is the paradox that *ijtihād* can only be allowed if its findings are supported by *ijmā'*, but it is necessarily against accepted *ijmā'* that *ijtihād* must be directed. The pioneer of change only validates his view if he has already won a consensus to his opinion. Something more encouraging to enterprise is needed if initiative is to be released, the door of *ijtihād* opened wide and the *ijmā'* of this generation freed from too great deference for the *ijmā'* of its predecessors. *Ijtihād* will need to make good its emancipation from domination and establish its claims in the whole realm of the-

[9] ibid. p. 111.
[10] Lord Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, 2 vols. London 1908, Vol. 2, p. 229.

ology as well as of law. As a principle, *ijtihād* has great potential value: it pre-supposes some communal voice in what is held. But the power of the principle needs to be released from long-standing and stubborn limitations.

What a debt of patience and ministry the Christian community owes to this exacting situation of accumulating urgency in Islam! If some of the foregoing seems unpromising, it is only because we have tried to measure Muslim apology by the criteria of its own confidence. Frankness is here the counterpart of sympathy. There are many mitigating factors which help to explain why the current self-examination of Islam has not gone further and deeper. The long tradition of static theology, the centuries of Ottoman domination, the sudden bewilderments of this century, the pre-occupations of nationalism, the psychological complications of Western relationships—all these have made for an inadequacy in Muslim thought to the setting of this generation. But the challenge of the time remains. Here the spur of this moment lies. Islam in Asia faces a spiritual testing new in its history, the issue of which is unpredictable. But its searching quality may reveal, as nothing else has yet done, to the soul of Islam, the supreme relevance of Christ. What does Christianity need to do within itself, if it is to be worthy to redeem that time?

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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SHARĪ'A LAW VII

INTESTATE SUCCESSION

In previous articles we have seen that the movement for the reform of Sharī'a law as applied by the courts in Egypt first concerned itself with the promulgation of piecemeal reforms, some of them of outstanding importance, designed to remedy certain major defects in the law of marriage and divorce. But in 1936 a Committee of jurists was officially set up to prepare a comprehensive Code of Family Law, using Qadrī Pasha's compilation as a basis but abandoning the "authoritative Ḥanafī opinion" in favor of that of any reputable Muslim jurist wherever public interest might seem to require, and including in its scope such matters as *awqāf* and testate and intestate succession. In the event the Committee decided to deal with these last-named subjects first, and succeeded, during the next ten years, in sponsoring fairly comprehensive legislation regarding each of them, in the form of three separate Laws: and of these the Law of Inheritance (No. 77 of 1943) was the first to be promulgated by the Legislature. While, moreover, somewhat similar proposals are under consideration in Lebanon, Syria and Iraq, it is only in the Sudan that any reforms in this subject have actually been introduced; so our study will be limited to the Egyptian Law of 1943 together with the few, but sometimes considerably earlier, innovations promulgated in the Sudan.

The Law of Inheritance, 1943, consists of forty-eight articles designed to cover, as far as possible, the whole law of intestate succession, so that it is only in points outside its scope, or in regard, perhaps, to matters of interpretation, that the courts in Egypt must still consult that authoritative Ḥanafī opinion which was formerly their sole criterion. As such, of course, this Law is beyond the scope of one short article, and it will be necessary to confine our attention to those particulars in which changes have been introduced in the law previously applied. But it is important to notice at the outset one interesting point, namely, that while the non-Muslim minorities in Egypt still follow their own laws in regard to such matters as marriage and divorce, the new Laws of Intestate Succession and Testamentary Dispositions are applicable to all Egyptians irrespective of religion.

Conditions of inheritance. The Law commences by re-affirming the two basic conditions of inheritance, for Article 1 reads "Inheritance becomes due on the death of the propositus or on his presumptive death by decree of court," while Article 2 provides that "A pre-

requisite of inheritance is to ascertain that the heir was alive at the time of the propositus' death or the decree of his presumptive death. But a child en ventre sa mère will be entitled to inherit if the conditions laid down in Article 43 are fulfilled." While, however, the broad principles on which these articles rest represent, of course, no innovation whatever, a number of important changes in existing practice are explicit or implicit in their terms.

In the first place it must be noticed in passing that decrees of presumptive death are now made in Egypt four years after a missing person's disappearance wherever, after adequate enquiries etc., his death seems probable, or after such longer period as the court may consider necessary where the probability of his death does not immediately appear. This reform was introduced by Articles 21 and 22 of the Law of 1929; and it has already been noted how widely these articles diverge from the Ḥanafī rules previously applicable.[1] Again, a decree of presumptive death is also appropriate in Sharī'a law wherever anyone who has renounced Islam has succeeded in reaching a non-Muslim country alive. In such cases the Ḥanafīs give all the property of a female "apostate," without distinction, to her Muslim heirs, while in the case of a male only property acquired before his "apostasy" is so treated, any property subsequently acquired being devoted to the Public Treasury; and the Shāfi'īs apply this latter principle to females too. In the original draft of this Law a provision was included adopting the Shāfi'ī view in this matter:[2] but this provision was struck out during the examination of the draft by the Legislature on the understanding that the Government would introduce separate legislation regarding "apostates" and "apostasy" in general. No such legislation has, however, yet appeared, so the Ḥanafī rules are still applicable in this matter.

But the Ḥanafī law previously followed allowed for inheritance not only on the actual or presumptive death of the propositus but also, in the solitary case of a foetus born dead as the result of an assault on his mother, on his "putative" death *(taqdīran)*. Such a foetus was never, of course, in fact alive as a separate person who could either inherit or pass inheritance, but the one who made the assault is obliged, under the Sharī'a, to pay the special blood-money known as *ghirra* for his destruction, over and above any liability he may bear for killing or injuring the mother. So, arguing from the view that this *ghirra* must be regarded as paid to the foetus himself and as passing from him to his heirs, the Ḥanafīs held that he must also be regarded as having inherited any other property which would

[1] See article V, THE MUSLIM WORLD, Oct. 1951, pp. 281-4.
[2] See the official Explanatory Memorandum.

have been his if born alive and having passed this property, too, to his heirs—a device largely designed to defeat the evil intentions of, e.g., the brother of the deceased, whose assault on the latter's pregnant wife might well have been motivated by his desire to destroy the foetus which, if born alive, would either exclude him from any right of inheritance whatever to his dead brother or, at least, severely restrict that right.[3] The opinion attributed to Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, al-Shāfi'ī and Mālik,[4] on the other hand, was that such foetus could not inherit property from any predeceased relative, since his own life had never been established; but that the *ghirra* was indeed his and must pass by inheritance to his heirs. By excluding all reference to "putative" death, therefore, Articles 1 and 2 of this Law may be said to have adopted the views of the three non-Ḥanafī schools in regard to ordinary rights of inheritance; but in regard to the *ghirra* they have abandoned all four Sunnī schools in favor of the view attributed to the very early jurists Rabī'a ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān and al-Layth ibn Sa'd that the foetus could not be regarded as acquiring, or passing, ownership of any property whatever, but that the *ghirra* must be considered compensation for the assault on the mother to which she alone is entitled, the loss of her unborn child being thus equated with the destruction of some member of her body.

Article 2, together with the Article 43 to which it refers, also represents a major departure from the orthodox Sunnī doctrines concerning the general conditions under which the child en ventre sa mère is entitled to succeed to property. All agree, of course, that such is entitled to inherit if conceived when the propositus died and subsequently born alive: it is with regard to the rules which determine whether or not he must be held to have been conceived at his death that differences between the schools, and major innovations in the Egyptian Law, chiefly become apparent; while a minor difference and innovation also concerns what constitutes the fact of being born alive. In the latter case the Ḥanafī rule formerly applicable holds that a child which shows signs of life when more than half born is entitled to inherit and pass inheritance, while the other three schools insist that the test must be whether he is wholly born alive: and it is the second view which has been adopted in Article 43. But the former question is far more complex, and depends almost entirely on the different views held by Muslim jurists as to the maximum, minimum and normal periods of gestation—a subject which has already been discussed to some extent not only with regard to the Law of

[3] According, of course, to whether the baby, when born, proved to be a boy or a girl.

[4] In the case of Mālik this is said to have been his final opinion.

Testamentary Dispositions[5] but also with regard to the maximum periods during which a divorced or widowed woman may claim maintenance or rights of inheritance, on the grounds of the continuance of her *'idda,* under the provisions of Law No. 25 of 1929.[6]

The minimum period of gestation is regarded as six months by most Muslim jurists as the result of comparing two verses in the Qur'ān, the one[7] describing the period of gestation and suckling together as thirty months, and the other[8] prescribing the period of suckling as two years. As a consequence no baby born to a married woman who had neither been widowed nor irrevocably divorced was allowed to inherit unless born less than six months after the death of the propositus, on the grounds that any baby born subsequently to this might well have been conceived after his death. This, however, has now been abandoned in favor of the rule that such baby must be born alive not more than two hundred and seventy days after the death of the propositus; a rule based on one Ḥanbalī opinion which lays down nine lunar months in such cases, on the grounds that the law must not be based on "freak" occurrences but rather on the normal course of nature. In the case of a baby born to a widowed or divorced woman, on the other hand, and this, of course, includes a posthumous child of the propositus himself, the rule adopted by Article 43 is that the child will inherit if born alive within 365 days of his mother's separation *(furqa)* or widowhood—provided in the case of the widow of the propositus that her separation, and in the case of any other woman that her separation or widowhood, antedated his death. This runs directly counter, of course, to the Ḥanafī rule of two years, the Shāfi'ī rule of four years, and the commonly accepted Mālikī rule of five years in such cases, and is based partly on the view attributed to Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥakam the Mālikī (although he in fact opted for a lunar, not a solar, year), partly on a variant view of the Ithnā 'Asharī branch of the Shī'a, but mostly on modern medical opinion.[9] It is also noteworthy that the Ḥanafī law previously applicable made a clear distinction between revocable and irrevocable divorces, for in regard to the former the two year period applicable to widows and irrevocably divorced women might be extended indefinitely, provided the revocably divorced wife had never acknowledged the end of her *'idda* period, on the grounds that there was nothing to prevent the spouses from hav-

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[5] See article VI, THE MUSLIM WORLD, Jan. 1952, pp. 40-41.

[6] Arts. 17 and 15 respectively. See article IV, THE MUSLIM WORLD, July 1951, pp. 195-7.

[7] Sūra 46:15.

[8] Sūra 2:233.

[9] See article IV, THE MUSLIM WORLD, July 1951, pp. 195-197.

ing come together again. In this article, however, the word "separation" *(furqa)* is used in this context without qualification, presumably with the meaning that the solar year is to be reckoned from the time when the divorce, of whatever sort it originally was, in fact had the effect of finally separating the parties. But it is curious to notice that while the Law of Inheritance corresponds in this particular with the provisions regarding establishment of paternity in the Law of 1929 (Article 15), where again no distinction is made between revocable and irrevocable divorces,[10] the Law of Testamentary Dispositions, 1946, takes quite a different attitude, for Article 35 prescribes that a bequest to a child en ventre sa mère is valid if he is born within 365 days of the bequest, where the testator acknowledged his conception, or within 270 days, where he did not—except only, in the latter case, that if his mother was already observing her *'idda* of widowhood or irrevocable divorce *(al-furqa' l-bā' ina)* the legacy will be valid if the child is born alive within 365 days of such widowhood or divorce. It is clear, then, that the Law of Testamentary Dispositions, alone in this context, retains the distinction between irrevocable and revocable divorces, and in the latter case insists on the normal, rather than the maximum, period of gestation.

Bars to Inheritance are covered in Articles 5 and 6. The first of these reads: "One of the bars to inheritance is that the heir should have deliberately caused the death of the propositus, whether as principal, accessory or a false witness whose testimony led to sentence of death and his execution, provided the act was without justification or excuse and the one who did it was sane and not less than fifteen years of age. Among excuses will be included the case of one who exceeds his lawful right of defense." Similarly Article 6 provides: "There is no right of inheritance between a Muslim and a non-Muslim, but non-Muslims may inherit from each other. Difference of domicile is no bar to inheritance between Muslims; while it is also no bar between non-Muslims except where the law of the foreign state concerned forbids inheritance to foreigners therefrom." These provisions again include a number of major reforms in the relevant rules previously applicable and demand more than passing notice.

The sort of homicide which previously debarred the killer from rights of succession, testate or intestate, to his victim, together with the admirably reasonable reforms recently effected in Egypt, were discussed in the last article in so far as the Law of Testamentary Dispositions is concerned. It should, however, be observed here that the definition of the homicide, or participation in a homicide, which

[10] ibid.

debars from intestate succession is taken virtually in toto from the relevant Mālikī principles, except that the word translated "deliberately" in Article 5 *('amdan)* must be taken in that context to imply the intention to kill (or, presumably, to do an act intrinsically likely to kill) rather than the intention to do any act within the extremely wide definition given to that technical term among the Mālikīs. In other words, the new Law principally differs from the Ḥanafī principles previously applicable in excluding from rights of inheritance one who has intentionally caused the death of the propositus by some indirect—as well as direct—means; in making his exclusion in all such cases independent of the other heirs' option; and in no longer excluding from inheritance one who causes the death of the propositus, whether directly or indirectly, as the result of an accident. But several other points are also worthy of notice in this context. In the first place the Explanatory Memorandum expressly states that where the propositus was first given a mortal wound *(infādh maqtal)* by one man and then finished off by another, both assailants will be excluded from inheritance if their act was deliberate and without excuse; and this is said to be based on the view of Abū Ḥanīfa in regard to the one and on one of two variant Mālikī opinions in regard to the other. In the second place it unequivocally excludes from inheritance one who commands another to commit a homicide, who leads the way to it, shares in it, keeps watch while it is done, or leaves poison to be taken by the victim, etc. Again, it expressly excludes from its definition of a "sane" killer one who does the deed in temporary loss of reason as the result of any sort of drug taken either under compulsion or in ignorance of its nature—from which it may be deduced, of course, that a homicide committed under the influence of some drug or intoxicant willingly and knowingly taken will, in accordance with the normal Muslim view, still debar the killer from any right of inheritance to his victim. Lastly, the original draft expressly maintained the right of a husband to inherit from his wife if he killed her and her paramour in the act of adultery; but during the examination of the draft in both Chambers the view was strongly pressed that the father, son or brother who surprised his daughter, mother or sister in adultery had even greater justification for killing her, since the stain on his honor caused by her immorality could not be wiped out by the simple expedient of divorce open to the husband: so in the final draft the question of excuse was left in general terms which might be held to apply to such relatives as well as the husband in these circumstances. And it is also relevant to observe that the Explanatory Memorandum makes detailed reference to the articles of the Penal Code which concern

the different types of persons and degrees of complicity, etc., covered by these provisions.

In regard to difference of religion the provisions of the Sharī'a concerning testamentary dispositions on the one hand and intestate succession on the other are diametrically opposite, for in the former those of different religions may take while in the latter the bar of difference of religion is absolute. As in testamentary dispositions, however, difference of domicile constitutes no bar to intestate succession between Muslims, while in the case of non-Muslims the Ḥanafīs and Shāfi'īs preclude inheritance between a non-Muslim subject of a Muslim state *(dhimmī)* and a non-Muslim subject of a non-Muslim state *(ḥarbī)*—although there is a difference of opinion between them as to whether this also applies if the latter were living within a Muslim state under temporary license (as a *musta'min*). The Mālikīs, however, make no distinction in such cases: and the new Law has adopted the Mālikī view wherever the laws of the non-Muslim state concerned would allow reciprocal treatment, but maintained the Ḥanafī view previously applicable where this would not be the case—which may be regarded as an instance of the milder form of *talfīq*. But it is also noteworthy in this connection that it seems that those jurists (e.g., the Mālikīs) who do not regard difference of domicile as any bar to mutual rights of inheritance between non-Muslims consider a difference of religion, even among non-Muslims, as a valid bar; while those who regard all non-Muslim religions as one in this context[11] consider any difference of domicile between such claimants as decisive: so the new Law, in allowing mutual rights of inheritance between e.g., two brothers, one of them a Christian subject of a Muslim state and the other a Jewish subject of a non-Muslim state whose laws would allow foreigners to inherit in such circumstances, has in effect decreed something for which none of these schools provide authority —and this constitutes an example of what may be termed the more extreme type of *talfīq*.

It must also be observed, moreover, that these rules about difference of religion are not regarded by Muslims as applicable to those who have renounced the religion of Islam, for under the Sharī'a the "apostate" is excluded from inheritance from anyone whatever, whether Muslims or the adherents of the religion of his adoption. This was originally expressly stated in the draft Law, as is apparent from the Explanatory Memorandum: but it was subsequently omitted in anticipation of the comprehensive legislation re-

[11] As does the authoritative Ḥanafī opinion previously applicable in Egypt, as well as this Law.

garding apostates and apostasy promised by the Government.[12] In practice, however, "apostates" are regularly excluded from rights of inheritance in the Sharī'a courts of Egypt, but would not be excluded from inheriting from relatives or spouses who are also non-Muslims, whether by birth or conversion, in the courts of their own community, which would decide such cases unless someone concerned were to appeal to the Sharī'a courts and to the law of Islam. Again, a provision to the effect that slavery was a bar to inheritance was also included in the first draft of this Law, but this also was subsequently omitted, on the grounds that slavery had now been forbidden for such a number of years that the relevant rules were no longer of any practical importance. Article 6, therefore, was so worded as not to imply that the bars to inheritance therein set out were exhaustive, "so that it might not be thought that there was any intention by its omission (i.e., that of slavery) of changing a rule of the Sharī'a on which all Muslims have agreed": while in any case of need (e.g., a claim to inheritance on the part of a slave in the Hijaz) the most authoritative Ḥanafī opinion would still, of course, be applicable in Egypt in this matter.

The different types of heirs and their respective priority are set out in Articles 7 and 30, while other claims to an estate, in default of any of these heirs, are enumerated in Articles 4 and 41. Thus Article 7 limits claims to inheritance as such to those based on marriage, blood relationship or "agnation by law,"[13] while it also specifies that claims to inherit by blood relationship are subdivided into those of persons entitled to a prescribed share, those of persons entitled as agnates, those of persons entitled under both these headings, and those of uterine (or non-agnatic) relatives, "in accordance with the rules of exclusion and the return *(radd)* respectively"; and Article 30 adds "If the prescribed shares do not exhaust the estate and there are no agnates by blood, the residue will be given to those entitled to prescribed shares, other than the spouse relict, in proportion to their respective shares,[14] while the remainder of the estate will be 'returned' to the spouse relict if there are no agnates by blood, no relatives entitled to prescribed shares and no uterine relatives." Again, Article 41 reads: "If the deceased acknowledged anyone's relationship to him as the child of someone else, the one so acknowledged will be entitled to his estate if he be of unknown parentage, if the parentage of his alleged father cannot be proved and if the acknowledgor never retracted his acknowledgment. But it is a condition of

[12] See above, p. 125.

[13] i.e., *'uṣūba sababīya.*

[14] This is the normal doctrine of the "return" (see above). For its extension to the spouse relict, see below.

such entitlement that the one so acknowledged should be alive at the time of the acknowledgor's death or the decree of his presumptive death and that none of the bars to inheritance should apply to his case." Finally, the relevant part of Article 4 provides that where there is no heir the estate shall be given to such acknowledged kinsman; in default of such, any legacy in excess of the bequeathable third shall be executed in full; and in default of such, the estate or the residue thereof shall be paid into the Public Treasury.

The effect of these articles, taken together, is that after all debts have been paid and any valid legacies executed an estate will be divided among the following claimants in the following order of priority:

(1) The prescribed shares must be allotted to those entitled thereto.
(2) The residue (or, if there are no "sharers", the whole) must be given to the nearest agnate or agnates by blood.
(3) In default of any agnates by blood, the residue must be "returned" to those entitled to prescribed shares, other than the spouse relict, in proportion to their shares.
(4) In default of either agnates by blood or relatives entitled to prescribed shares, the estate—or residue thereof—must be allotted to uterine relatives.
(5) In default of such, the residue must be "returned" to the spouse relict.
(6) In default of such, the estate must go to the "agnates by law."[15]
(7) In default of such, the estate must go to the "acknowledged kinsman."
(8) In default of such, any legacy in excess of the bequeathable third must be executed in full.
(9) In default of such, or if there be any residue, the estate or residue thereof must be paid into the Public Treasury.

This list of heirs and other claimants in their respective order of priority involves a number of points which call for comment as representing interesting innovations in existing practice. In the first place, it is noteworthy that all the Sunnī schools put the "agnates by law" much higher in the order of priority, for they usually come immediately after the agnates by blood and thus exclude both the doctrine of the return and the claims of any uterine relatives. It is only the heterodox Ibāḍīs who reject the claims of these agnates by law altogether, on the grounds that rights of inheritance rest only on blood relationship or marriage; so the new Law may be said to have adopted the Ibāḍī view where there is any claimant by blood or

[15] i.e., *al-ʿaṣaba 'l-sababīyūn.*

marriage and to have fallen back on the view of the generality of orthodox jurists—that these agnates by law are entitled to inherit—only where none such exists. But the Explanatory Memorandum avoids any such admission by attributing to "many of the Companions, including Ibn Mas'ūd" the opinion that any claim of relationship should take precedence over that of agnation by law.

In the second place, it is noteworthy that among those jurists who supported the doctrine of the return (in contrast to the "better" Mālikī and Shāfi'ī opinion which rejected it) there was a difference of opinion regarding the spouse relict. The great majority of jurists, together with the authoritative Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī opinion, utterly excluded the spouse relict from the scope of this doctrine; but 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, Jābir ibn Zayd and a few others are credited with the view that the spouse relict should share in the return on an equality with the other "sharers." So here, as in the preceding point, the new Law has again indulged in the milder form of *talfīq*, which some deny to be *talfīq* at all, for it has chosen the view of the majority of jurists where any relatives exist (and has allotted the return to relatives entitled to prescribed shares or, in default of such, has given the residue of the estate to uterine relatives) but adopted that of the small minority in default of relatives of any kind whatever. And it is interesting to observe that this reform was introduced in the Sudan more than eighteen years earlier, by Judicial Circular No. 26 of 1925, except that the return to the spouse relict was there, apparently, postponed to the claim of the "acknowledged kinsman" also (although not to that of the legatee whose legacy exceeds the bequeathable third).

In the third place, it is relevant to point out that the agnates by law are defined in Articles 39 and 40 as including every sort of patron by right of emancipation—or, in default, the "agnates in their own right" of such patrons—but that no mention whatever is made of the "patron by contract" of the Ḥanafī text books, presumably because any such claim has been unknown for many years. It is also noteworthy that the "acknowledged kinsman" is no longer regarded as an heir, on the grounds that his relationship to the deceased is not in fact established, but as entitled to the estate, in default of any heir whatever, "out of respect for the will of the deceased and in fulfillment of his desires concerning his property"; yet the resemblance between his claim and that of an heir—together with the influence of the Ḥanafī texts—is recognized to the extent of applying to him also the usual conditions for, and bars to, inheritance.

There are, moreover, particular points of interest in the detailed application of the law regarding most of these different types of heir.

Thus among those entitled to a prescribed share it is noteworthy that Article 10 enacts that uterine brothers and sisters shall, in any case where the aggregate of shares prescribed for them and other "sharers" exhausts the estate, divide their share with a brother or brothers germane, or with such brothers and sisters together—i.e., with those germane brothers and sister who inherit as agnates, not as sharers, and would thus be totally excluded in such circumstances apart from this provision. This case represents the problem known as the "Mushtaraka," "Ḥimārīya" or "Ḥajarīya," so called because certain germane brothers of a dead man are represented as having come to the Caliph 'Umar, in circumstances where they were utterly excluded from inheritance by the aggregate shares of uterines and others, and pointed out that even if their father had been a donkey *(ḥimār)* or a stone *(ḥajar)* thrown into the sea, yet they were also children of their mother, so why should they not take their part *(yashtarikūn)* in the share alloted to uterines? This claim was rejected by the Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs, but accepted by the Shāfi'īs and Mālikīs; and the Law has adopted the latter opinion. And again it is noteworthy that this reform was introduced in the Sudan some four years earlier, by Judicial Circular No. 49 of 1939 (Article 1).

Another sharer who demands special mention is the wife, for the relevant clauses of Article 11 read: "A prescribed share of one quarter is accorded to the wife or wives, even if revocably divorced provided the husband dies during the *'idda* period, where there is no child or child of a son how low soever, while where there is a child or child of a son (however low) the wife's or wives' share is one eighth. A woman who has been irrevocably divorced during her husband's death sickness is regarded as still in the position of a wife if she did not consent to the divorce and if the husband who divorced her actually dies in that illness before the end of her *'idda.*" This last clause represents the Ḥanafī view, except that the latter only allows an irrevocably divorced wife to inherit in these circumstances where the husband may be considered to be trying to evade *(fārran min)* the rules of inheritance—e.g., should a Muslim husband irrevocably divorce his non-Muslim wife during his death sickness and should she subsequently embrace Islam before his death—and before the end of her *'idda*— she would not be entitled to inherit, since no intention to evade her rights of inheritance could be attributed to her husband. And it seems that this would still be so under the new Law, since the Explanatory Memorandum, composed though it was in this context in support of the original draft of the Law which had adopted the more extensive Ḥanbalī provisions in this matter, expressly states that the motive behind this exception to general principles is the

reversal of the husband's intention in so divorcing his wife, namely to deprive her of her right of inheritance; and in spite of the change in details the courts would probably regard this motive as still underlying, and limiting, the wording of the Law: while it may also be presumed that the same principle would be applied in favor of the husband whose wife terminated their marriage by her own unilateral act,[16] during her death sickness, with the same ulterior motive. Again, it is relevant to observe that should a claim to inheritance based on the marriage of non-Muslims be brought to the Sharī'a courts of Egypt today it seems most unlikely that they would enquire into the validity of the marriage according to the law of Islam provided it were valid according to the law of the parties—following thereby the view of Ibn 'Ābidīn, as against the normal Ḥanafī view which holds that no subsidiary plea based on a non-Muslim marriage can be upheld by a Muslim court unless the marriage concerned, invalid though it might have been among Muslims, were such as would entitle the parties to confirmation therein if they should both embrace Islam.[17] But in the vast majority of cases claims to inheritance among non-Muslims would be decided by their own community courts, and only where one of the claimants was a Muslim would such cases normally be taken to the Qāḍīs.

Among those entitled to inherit as agnates by blood the only innovation concerns the rights of the father's father when in competition with full or consanguine brothers and/or sisters. In such cases Abū Bakr, Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn 'Umar and other Companions are reported as holding that the father's father entirely excludes all brothers and sisters, since he represents the father and a higher order of inheritance (i.e., ascendants as against collaterals): and this view was followed by the Ḥanafī school (on the authority of Abū Ḥanīfa himself), together with the Ḥanbalīs and Ibāḍīs. 'Alī, Zayd ibn Thābit, Ibn Mas'ūd and others, on the other hand, are represented as taking a different view and considering the father's father more or less on a par with a full or consanguine brother in such cases: while in matters of detail several of these authorities differed among themselves. In the event the Mālikīs and Shāfi'īs, together with Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī among the Ḥanafīs, followed the view attributed to Zayd ibn Thābit in making the father's father, when in competition with any full or consanguine brother or sister or any combination of such brothers or sisters, count as a full or con-

[16] e.g., by exercising her option of puberty or delegated right to divorce herself, etc.

[17] e.g. they would be confirmed therein if the defect only concerned the form of the contract, but not if the parties were foster-brother and sister or otherwise debarred from marriage under the Sharī'a.

sanguine brother, as the case may be, and divide the estate with the brothers and/or sisters accordingly, after any "sharers" other than such sisters[18] have taken their prescribed shares—unless this reduces him to less than one-third of the whole estate (if there are no other sharers) or of the residue thereof (if there are), when he has the two other alternatives of taking this one-third of the estate or its residue or of regarding himself as a sharer and taking his prescribed share of one-sixth. It is noteworthy, however, that where a father's father is in competition with both germane and consanguine brothers and/or sisters the latter will, in this view, be included with the germanes as against the father's father in reckoning his entitlement, even though they may subsequently be wholly or partially excluded by the germanes, on ordinary principles, in regard to the latters' entitlement.

'Alī, on the other hand, is represented as differing from this view in three respects. In his opinion a father's father when in competition with a full or consanguine sister or sisters only will not agnatize such, but the sister or sisters will take as sharers and leave the grandfather to take the residue (after any other sharers have also taken their shares) as nearest agnate—unless this reduces him to less than his prescribed share of one-sixth, when he may take this as a sharer: but no question of his taking one-third of the estate or the residue thereof arises, nor do any consanguines who would be excluded by germanes count against the grandfather either. As for Ibn Mas'ūd, he is represented as agreeing with 'Alī in holding that the father's father will not agnatize full or consanguine sisters alone and that consanguines excluded by germanes will not count against him either, but as supporting the view of Zayd ibn Thābit in regard to the one-third rule.

It is just at this point that Article 22 of the Egyptian Law has again indulged in what may be termed the milder form of *talfīq*, although its authors are here commended by many critics for a beneficial use of this principle in order to reach a logical and coherent result. Thus the view attributed to 'Alī has been consistently followed, except only where a father's father is in competition with a full or consanguine sister or sisters who are already entitled to inherit as "agnates with another"—i.e., with a daughter or daughters, son's daughter or son's daughters—for in such cases the father's father will divide the residue with any such as though he were a corresponding brother, unless, of course, this would reduce him to less than his one-sixth share. This means that the father's father will never agnatize a sister who is not already an agnate either "by another" or "with

[18] Who are here agnatized either by corresponding brothers or by the grandfather counting as such a brother.

another,"[19] but that wherever the father's father is in competition with brothers or sisters entitled as agnates, not sharers, he will count as a corresponding brother and receive his appropriate entitlement as such. And it is again noteworthy that whereas in 1939[20] the Sudanese reformers provided, by Article 2 of Judicial Circular No. 49, that "decrees shall be given according to the view of the Two Companions in the matter of the inheritance of full or consanguine brothers or sisters in competition with the father's father," in 1943 they took the further step of introducing this Egyptian refinement by Judicial Circular No. 51, Article 1, which reproduces Article 22 of the Egyptian Law verbatim.[21]

The major innovation regarding uterine relatives consists in the adoption of the much simpler rules attributed to Abū Yūsuf in place of the considerably more complex rules advocated by Muḥammad al-Shaybānī in those cases—i.e., where the "roots," through whom the uterine heirs concerned trace their relationship to the deceased, themselves differ in sex—wherein the Two Companions are not agreed between themselves. In general terms it may be said that Abū Yūsuf not only adopted the simpler rules but more consistently applied the principle of "relationship" *(qarāba)* on which the Ḥanafīs and Ibāḍīs base their distribution of an estate between uterine heirs; while Muḥammad al-Shaybānī complicated the issue by adopting, in certain cases only, some of the principles consistently applied by those who make "substitution" *(tanzīl)* the basis of their doctrine of uterine succession. In more detail, however, it is noteworthy that in respect of those uterine heirs who can put forward two different claims to inheritance Article 37 has preferred the view attributed to Abū Yūsuf by the jurists of Transoxiana (which conforms to that of Muḥammad al-Shaybānī) where one of these claims concerns the paternal and the other the maternal side, for here the uterine heir concerned is allowed to take his share on both sides; while it has fol-

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[19] So the solution postulated for the "Akdarīya" by some jurists is excluded.

[20] i.e. Some four years before the Egyptian Law.

[21] This article reads as follows:—"If the father's father is in competition with full or consanguine brothers and/or sisters two possibilities arise:—

(1) that he should divide [the estate, or the residue thereof] with them as a brother, if they are males only, or males and females together, or females inheriting as agnates with a female descendant;

(2) that he should take the residue as entitled agnate, after the deduction of the prescribed shares, when in competition with sisters not agnatized either by brothers or together with a female descendant.

Provided that if this division *(maqāsama)* or right as agnatic heir as described above deprives the grandfather of all inheritance or reduces him to less than a sixth part of the estate he shall be regarded as entitled to his prescribed share of one sixth: and provided also that consanguine brothers or sisters excluded by germanes shall not count at all in this division *(muqāsama)*."

lowed the view attributed to Abū Yūsuf by the jurists of Iraq and Khurāsān, namely that an uterine heir who has a double claim may take under one of these only, where the two claims both relate to the same side. Again, the Explanatory Memorandum attributes the view adopted in Article 33—that even among uterines of the second class (i.e., ascendants) whichever of claimants equal in degree is related to the deceased through a sharer will be preferred to any not so related—to the opinion of "Abū Sahl al-Farḍi, Abū Faḍl al-Khaffāf and 'Alī ibn 'Isā 'l-Baṣrī"; while it affirms that the view adopted in Article 36—that among the children of the deceased's uterine paternal uncles and aunts and maternal uncles and aunts whether full, consanguine or uterine, together with the daughters of his full or consanguine paternal uncles and the daughters of the latters' sons (or, of course, the children of all those already mentioned how low soever)[22] those related to the deceased through agnates should be preferred to those of an equal degree related only through an uterine heir, even when the uterine heir concerned is of the full blood and the agnate of the half blood—is contrary to the opinion recorded in the books known as *"ẓāhir al-riwāya"* but "in accordance with the choice of 'Ammād al-Din, following Shams al-A'imma, which some have preferred to that of *ẓāhir al-riwāya."* The reason why both these variants were adopted is, however, clear enough, for they have the effect of applying identical principles of priority, namely first degree, then relationship through an agnate or sharer, and lastly strength of the blood-tie, throughout all the classes and sub-divisions under which uterine heirs have been classified.

When we turn to the "agnates by law" the only point on which comment seems required is that although Article 40 is by no means explicit on this subject, yet the Explanatory Memorandum states unequivocally that where, the emancipator being dead and the right of inheritance having passed to his or her agnates by blood in their own right, the father's father is in competition with a full or consanguine brother or brothers, then the principle enunciated in such cases for agnates by blood in the ordinary course of inheritance will again be followed. This, of course, is reasonable enough; and the Explanatory Memorandum not only supports it on the ground that "there is no reason to differentiate" between the two cases but also as implicit in the wording of Article 40: but it it is strange that the Memorandum falls into the error of stating that the "view of the Two Companions" has been adopted in this matter, for we have already seen that this is by no means the case.

[22] i.e., Class IV, section 2 among uterine heirs.

Finally, in regard to the priority of a deceased man's debts, it is interesting to observe that the first part of Article 4 simply states: "An estate shall be administered in accordance with the following priorities: firstly, what is sufficient to pay for the preparations for the deceased's funeral, and that of anyone for whose maintenance he was responsible, from the time of death to that of interment; secondly, the settlement of the deceased's debts; thirdly, the execution of any bequests he has made within the limits prescribed for effective bequests."[23] But the whole subject of the priority of some debts over others (e.g., debts to God and debts to men, debts incurred or acknowledged in health and debts only acknowledged in death sickness, etc.), the relative priority of funeral expenses in respect of the deceased himself and of anyone (whether wife, son, father etc.) for whose maintenance he was responsible and who died, but was not buried, before he himself died, and the position of the heirs vis-a-vis the deceased's debtors and creditors, has occasioned the widest of differences between the different schools and jurists. Into most of these questions the Law of Inheritance, 1943, does not attempt to enter, for the rights of debtors and creditors are covered by the civil law (cp. the new Civil Code of 1949) and fall within the competence of the civil courts—although it may be observed that the Explanatory Memorandum expressly states that the "debts" referred to in Article 4 are debts to man rather than God, in accordance with the Ḥanafī view previously applicable. The only innovation in this article,[24] therefore, is the fact that the funeral expenses of the deceased are now given priority even over his secured debts, in the Ḥanbalī [and a "weak" Ḥanafī] as opposed to the dominant Ḥanafī view. Both these schools agreed that such expenses must be given priority to unsecured debts, in just the same way that the debtor's essential maintenance is given priority during his life to the claims of his creditors: but while the Ḥanafīs argued that since he was not allowed, in his life, to sell something deposited as security for a debt in order to raise his necessary maintenance, so secured debts must be given priority, after his demise, even over funeral expenses, the Ḥanbalīs, on the other hand, urged that it was unreasonable and inhuman to deprive one who dies possessed of any property at all, whether pledged in security for his debts or not, of the right that his funeral expenses should be provided therefrom. As for the provision

[23] i.e., within which bequests are effective without the heirs' consent, namely one third of the net estate. Article 4 then continues as set forth at p. 132 above.

[24] Apart, that is, from its silence about the relative priority of "debts of health" on the one hand and debts which can only be proved by an acknowledgment made in death sickness, on the other—which constitutes a vital distinction in the authoritative Ḥanafī opinion.

that the funeral expenses of one for whose maintenance he was responsible should be put on a par with his own, this represents the Ḥanafī[25] rather than the Ḥanbalī view; for the Ḥanbalīs, for instance, held that where a deceased wife had property of her own, her funeral expenses should be provided therefrom in such cases, rather than from the estate of her husband. So here again we find an instance of the more extreme form of *talfīq*, for it seems clear that although the priority of a man's own funeral expenses over his secured debts may be supported from Ḥanbalī sources, and the equation of his wife's funeral expenses to his own from Ḥanafī texts, yet none of these authorities would, in fact, have approved the payment of a wife's funeral expenses out of her husband's estate in priority to the latter's secured debts.

J. N. D. Anderson

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[25] In particular, that attributed to Abū Yūsuf.

Comparative Religion. By A. C. Bouquet. Third and revised edition. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1950. pp. 319. 2s. 6d.

Dr. Bouquet, Lecturer on the History and Comparative Study of Religions at Cambridge University, aims at "writing a plain tale, inspired by scientific method," and throughout endeavors, with considerable success, to write from a completely objective viewpoint. This description of the living religions of the world is not for the ordinary reader, unacquainted with the subject, who will soon find himself lost in the maze of Dr. Bouquet's cross references to religion and religions as believed and practised in all parts of the world.

The chapter on Islam (chapter X, pp. 264-283) has been revised for this edition and is especially to be commended for its full description of Muslim ritual prayer. After an account of the life of Muhammad (which would not be acceptable to most Muslims) the author proceeds to discuss the nature of Muhammad's message, the Qur'ān in which this is embodied, and the development of institutional and theological Islam. Considering the limitations of space imposed by the nature and size of the book, Dr. Bouquet has done all that could have been expected, and more. It should be noted that Sufism has been treated under Mysticism rather than in the chapter on Islam.

The *anṣar* are described on page 268 (the "s" should be omitted) as "young new converts," and on page 274 as "disciples." Apparently the point has been missed that these were the "helpers" or old residents of Yathrib (afterwards called Medinah) as over against the *muhājirūn,* who migrated from Mecca. On page 266, on casual reading a reference to "the second sura" would be understood as referring to the second sura of the Qur'ān, whereas the reference is to the second sura which was revealed to Muhammad. The statement on page 273 that "religion for the Moslem centres upon Wahy," and is "wholly given, and nothing remains but to accept it in its immutable majesty," must be interpreted in the light of the notes on *ijmā', sunna* and *qiyās,* on pp. 280 and 281. "Il Allah" on page 108 should be simply "Allah" or "Al Ilah" as on page 271.

JAMES D. BROWN

Princeton, N. J.

The Five Pillars of Islam. By the Rev. L. Bevan Jones. Ipswich, Suffolk, The Fellowship of Faith for the Moslems, pp. 16.

This attractive booklet written by the former Principal of the Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies, Aligarh, is published by the Fellowship of Faith for the Moslems as number 3 of the "Focus on Islam" series.

After distinguishing between *imān* and *dīn,* Mr. Bevan Jones takes up each of the *arkán-ud-dīn,* and in a brief description explains them for the benefit especially of those unacquainted with Islam. The booklet gives in brief form a clear description of the formal side of the religion.

The publisher may be pardoned for using as the striking cover

picture on a pamphlet on Islam the five pillars yet standing of a pagan temple at Baalbec.

JAMES D. BROWN

Princeton, N. J.

Sons of Adam. Studies of Old Testament Characters in New Testament Light. By Samuel M. Zwemer. Grand Rapids, Michigan, Baker Book House, 1951. pp. 164.

The warmth and fervor for which Dr. Zwemer is known and loved breathe through these short chapters in Old Testament biography. The author takes the narratives from Adam to Ezekiel and, with a gift of apt quotation from a wide range of sources, old and new, eastern and western, explores their significance for the Christian heart. He disclaims any concern for the critical aspects of his theme. The omission of Jeremiah and Amos is regrettable since they would have been so intimately suited to the purpose in view. In the chapters on Abraham and Solomon there are brief references to Quranic narratives.

Over fifty volumes now have come from this same prolific pen. In the company of his saints here the writer has lived long. This is one more piece of himself, meditation's grateful fruit.

KENNETH CRAGG

CARAVAN, The Story of the Middle East. By Carleton S. Coon. New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1951. pp. 376. $5.00.

Caravan is one of the most useful and satisfactory works on the Middle East this reviewer has read in some time. Aside from the wearying repetitions of the Palestine problem, most recent books have been either journalistic travelogues or studies of the bewildering struggles of East-West politics. From them the American easily concludes that his chief concern in the area is only for canals, oil wells and treaties.

Dr. Coon's thesis is that the Middle East is first and always people —families and communities like ourselves, caught in the struggle with environment and seeking human answers to human problems. This thesis he elucidates with the arts and skills of the anthropologist, combined with his own intimate experience in the area. No question relating to human life and its setting is too insignificant to find a place; the languages spoken, foods eaten, crafts developed are all carefully related to the pattern of culture which for centuries has held life together in these Eastern lands.

In general, four major interests run through the book: the medley of races that inhabit the area; their organization into tribes, villages, work guilds, classes, governors and governed; their economic patterns and pursuits, and the folkways (including religion) by which stability and continuity are given to experience through the centuries. The facts presented are voluminous—the uninitiated reader may become bewildered by them—but what emerges is a general picture of the kind of people and culture amidst which the turbulence of recent Middle East history is taking place. Contemporary political events (the creation of the State of Israel, the Anglo-Egyptian struggle, the oil crisis in Iran) are purposely excluded or given only pass-

ing reference. This is a description of the setting in which such events are taking place; it is a picture of what the Middle East is changing from rather than what it is changing to.

One appreciated excellence of *Caravan* is its sprightly style. This is not an encyclopedia, but a story to which the author brings his skill as a novelist as well as his reputation as an anthropologist.

To Americans, whether diplomats, oilmen, missionaries or simple newspaper readers, it is suggested that *Caravan* be their introductory book to the Middle East. Only when people, their culture and their problems, are understood with sympathy are we in any position to appreciate or become involved in their politics and business.

JOHN S. BADEAU

Philadelphia, Pa. and Cairo, Egypt

Islam. Beliefs and Practices. By A. S. Tritton. London, Hutchinson's University Library, 1951. pp. 190. 7/6.

This is a pocket size book, which gives an "account of the essentials of Islam" with "some of the typical and more striking variants." It is written by the former Professor of Arabic at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London.

The little volume is packed full of interesting information, presented in a laconic style. It is a contribution of great value for anyone who already knows something about Islam. It is too brief and loaded with facts to be easy reading for a novice.

As it is assumed that the reader knows enough to distinguish between the typical and exceptional aspects of Islam, an uninformed reader might find it difficult to know which paragraphs describe every day customs and which ones deal with the unusual.

The book begins with accounts of the Prophet's mission, the Qur'ān and the Five Pillars. It is critical, but sympathetic and based on a thorough understanding of the historical background. Although these two first chapters are short, they contain much valuable information which other brief accounts omit.

The author next deals with the traditions, beliefs and laws of Islam, giving a wealth of material which it would be hard to find anywhere else in such a condensed form.

The chapter on sects contains material which most people know nothing about and the account of Mysticism is helpful, because it gives so many technical terms correctly transliterated. In the first half of the book there are many quotations, which are of great value. They would be even more helpful, if footnotes identified the sources from which they have been taken.

Many readers will find the passages about the state, justice, education, social life, moral ideas, marriage, slavery, and strange superstitions especially interesting. They are followed by a brief description of the most important modern movements, which are producing new sects in Iran and India, and new conceptions of law. At the back of the book there are useful pages, which contain a glossary and bibliography.

At the end of the volume Professor Tritton shows his appreciation of Islam by giving a quotation, which reveals the spirit of true religion in the heart of a Muslim:

"Herein is the foundation of all righteousness! He sees the defects of his own character and his failures to do his duty; and this knowledge, joined to his knowledge of the divine blessings, forbids him to hold up his head so that he comes humbly to God, begging for forgiveness."

BAYARD DODGE

Princeton, N. J.

Islam in the Sudan. By Spencer Trimingham. New York, Oxford University Press, 1949. pp. x, 280. $4.50.

The Rev. J. Spencer Trimingham has given us a book that supplies a long felt need to both those who are interested in the north Sudan and students of Islam as it is affected by and adapts itself to different localities and conditions.

Early Christianity in the Sudan is excellently outlined and the reasons for its seeming easy and rapid disappearance are clearly set forth.

The chapter on the religious orders is most illuminating. One may wonder how so many orders can survive in a country where the Muslim population is comparatively small, but when we know that almost without exception every Muslim is a member of one of these orders and that some of these orders are quite small, it is not so surprising. To those who have observed these orders in their various activities, there may seem to be little if any connection with Islam, but the author has clearly pointed out what the connections are even though they are in many cases very slight.

Any adverse criticisms are of a minor nature. To an uninformed reader, the use of Arabic words will prove confusing. In some cases the English translation has been given after the word, but not to any great degree.

It is also the reviewer's opinion that the younger generation in the north Sudan has been somewhat too harshly criticized. While what has been written is true in the majority of cases, it should be pointed out that there are many exceptions and one comes in contact with many young people of both sexes who have broken away from the old customs and pay them no more than lip service and that only in front of their elders.

Since the publication of this book, great and serious changes have been made in regard to education in the southern or pagan Sudan. Arabic has become the lingua franca and one will watch with interest what effect this will have on both Islam and paganism and also what role Christians, foreign and native, will play in the unfolding drama.

We commend Mr. Trimingham on his masterly presentation of these phases of the history of the Sudan, a land which has become of international interest and concern in recent years.

LEANDER FINLEY

Philadelphia, Pa.

The Bahrein Islands. By A. Faroughy. New York, Verry, Fisher & Company, 1951. pp. 128, 5 plates. $3.50.

This short book is divided into two parts: a "General Description" and a "History"; it is identical in treatment with Faroughy's

Introducing Yemen. Under the general section the reader is presented in rapid succession with the following topics: geography, geology, climate, population, towns and villages, antiquities, education, pearl fishing, transit shipments, Bahrein-U.S. trade, oil, weights and measures, currency, stamps, and the genealogy of the shaikhs of Bahrein. All this is covered in thirty-five pages; like all books that attempt to be encyclopaedic in nature, this at times confuses the reader by the fragmentary nature of the diverse material included. Some of the facts and figures presented in this section I suspect to be incorrect. Since no references are given in any of the text, there is no way of judging which statements are reliable. However, suspicions seem to be justified by the inclusion of such works as Rihani's *Around the Coasts of Arabia* in a "Selected Bibliography." A glaring omission in this section is the American Mission Hospital under a discussion of hospitals.

Under "antiquities" Faroughy discusses the thousands of Bahrein tumuli, stating that to date "the contents have brought to light only contradictory evidence." Quite to the contrary: the evidence from three separate experts shows that most of the graves are of the second millennium B.C. (c. 1500 B.C.), while there is one very small group on the northern edge of Bahrein that dates from about the start of the Christian era. Faroughy relates the older group of tombs faced southwest towards Arabia; certainly he cannot be serious in suggesting that these Bronze Age monuments were oriented towards Mecca!

The "History" section of the book contains sixty pages of which one third is devoted to the 8th to 18th centuries, and two thirds to the 19th and 20th centuries. This part is an obvious attempt to further Iran's claim to Bahrein Island. So biased is the account that one tires of reading about Arab, European, and English "pirates" . . . "interrupting Persian navigation, maltreating Persian subjects." The account of the 19th and 20th centuries is basically a chronology of Persian claims for Bahrein sovereignty. However, reading between the lines, the reader can see that Bahrein has been a pawn to naval powers in the Persian Gulf since Babylonian times when the island was known as Dilmun.

There are numerous inconsistencies and typographical errors, e.g., on the same page the Iranian Shi'ite population of Bahrein is listed as 45,000 and 100,000. The map of Bahrein is poorly reproduced, so many of the names cannot be read. However, the book will serve a useful purpose for the general reader, since the material is not collected under one cover elsewhere.

Richard LeBaron Bowen, Jr.

Rehoboth, Massachusetts

The New Turks: Pioneers of the Republic, 1920-1950. By Eleanor Bisbee. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951. pp. 298 + xviii, 13 photographs, end-paper maps. $5.00.

This excellent portrait of republican Turkey is "dedicated to better international understanding"; it is a fine contribution to that worthy cause. Too few Americans, even on the policy-making levels of government and business and the interpretive levels of responsible journalism, have an adequate comprehension of affairs south of the

Soviet Union, though its western borders in Europe and eastward extensions into China and Korea have been exhaustively analyzed. There is an understandable but dangerous tendency for such Americans, relying on the daily press and weekly news-magazines, to consider the whole Near East a turbulent region of irresponsible governments and violent antagonisms, a power vacuum ripe for anarchy as a prelude to communism.

One of the outstanding contributions made by Miss Bisbee in this study is to explain why Turkey is a major exception to these pessimistic generalizations. She outlines, coherently and competently, the difficult path trod by Atatürk and his successors as they ousted foreign invaders and Ottoman oppressors, created a monolithic national state on the debris of a discredited caliphal empire, achieved internal stability and international acceptance, maintained both during the tensions of war and ensuing crises, and fulfilled democratic promises by free elections in 1950, when the maturity of the young republic was demonstrated by the peaceable accession to power of the opposition leader Celâl Bayar.

Her six years in Turkey as professor of philosophy at Robert College and the American College for Girls, supplemented by research and correspondence, have equipped Miss Bisbee with both the knowledge and the sympathy to interpret our Turkish allies to us, but her favorable verdict is fully sustained by the evidence, and she is not blind to flaws in Turkish achievements.

In international affairs she stresses the shrewd realism of the Turks, their firm support of the United Nations, their dependability and integrity in maintaining ties with the United States and other western powers, and the cool correctness of their relations with Russia and her satellites. She scarcely mentions Turkish participation in the Korea police action or the violent antipathy to all things Russian which has united Turkish sentiment for centuries, but statesmen in other Near Eastern countries could profitably ponder her brief comments on the improvement in relations between Greece and Turkey from open warfare in 1922 to the current close cooperation.

The discussion of economics and domestic politics is discursive rather than penetrating, yet the balance with which Miss Bisbee weighs achievements and shortcomings is admirable; her approval of electoral reforms and of advances in education and transportation is tempered by emphasis on the magnitude of the tasks still remaining, as well as by sharp criticism of corruption and red tape, and of the wartime capital levy and its iniquitous application to minorities.

Description of Turkey itself is sketchy, but the people are well delineated as to education, occupation, religion, culture, and character. Turkish cultural contributions are somewhat over-stated, but criticism is disarmed by an unexpected chapter entitled "Fun." The whole adds up to a well-rounded portrait of a friendly nation of whom Americans know too little, and is therefore warmly recommended.

Such recommendation does not, however, imply that the book is without certain weaknesses, chief of which concerns the many faulty allusions to things Arabic. The repeated inclusion of all Arabia within the Ottoman empire is incorrect, while no Arab would agree that under Ottoman rule Turks were "essentially no different from

any other Müslim subjects in Egypt or Albania." The Turkish spellings Müslim and Irak are injudiciously used throughout, while the translation of *"bismillahirrahmanirrahim"* by a sentence commencing with "I am starting this . . ." is inept. Miss Bisbee says *harem* literally means "wife"; literally it of course means "forbidden," thence, derivatively, "women's quarters," and finally, far from literally, "wife." Turkish claims to Ibn-Sīnā and Ibn-Rushd, despite her implied acceptance, are groundless, as is the myth that the Renaissance was stimulated by scholars fleeing doomed Constantinople in 1453. Most glaring of all, the Hegira was not from Medina to Mecca; quite the reverse.

The contrast between Atatürk and Hitler or Mussolini is not nearly as relevant as would have been a comparison with Lenin, whose problems were so analogous. Other awkward references suggest that Miss Bisbee's historical competence is restricted to modern Turkey, but they do not seriously impair the value of her conclusions. Her prose is rather pedestrian and her notions on commas are unsound, but factual errors are commendably rare. One cannot credit her figure of 5,986 lycées for 19,046 pupils, nor approve the spelling "Bosphorus," while the end-paper maps are not satisfactory.

The book is completed by a dozen pleasant photographs, a page of cartoons, and a foreword by Harry N. Howard, who is rewarded with a 17-line biographical and bibliographical footnote, a practice to be deplored.

HARRY W. HAZARD

Princeton, N. J.

Early Arabic glass weights and stamps: a supplement. Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 120. By George C. Miles. New York, American Numismatic Society, 1951. pp. 60 + iv, 4 plates. $2.00.

Fāṭimid coins in the collections of the University Museum, Philadelphia, and the American Numismatic Society. Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 121. By George C. Miles. New York, American Numismatic Society, 1951. pp. 52 + iv, 6 plates. $2.00.

These two monographs, from the same hand and numbered consecutively in the same series, could hardly be more different in treatment and in potential audience. The virtues they share include, nevertheless, clarity of presentation, authoritativeness, and excellence of photographic reproduction in the plates.

The Fāṭimid item is a concise check-list, with minimal descriptions or references, of 537 coins, chiefly dinars, struck by the Fāṭimid imams between A.D. 909 and 1171 in Tunisia, Sicily, Egypt, Syria, and the Yemen, together with a few imitations. Of this large group, 131 issues have not been previously published, but these are chiefly new years for known mints or slight variations in types. The only previously unrecorded Fāṭimid mint is Ṣan'ā' in the Yemen, represented by a billon piece dated A.H. 463. Unfortunately, no indices are provided, though a table of known Fāṭimid mints and dates is appended.

The extreme conciseness of the presentation leads to some uncertainty as to whether occasional unexpected readings are misprints, errors in engraving, or anomalies requiring comment. For instance, coin 16 includes the name "Abū'l-Ṭāhir," but this ruler's name is

given on page 4 as "Abū-Ṭāhir"; in this case the plate confirms the reading. Again, coin 67 is read in part as "al-Mu'izz Dīn Allāh," with the ruler termed on page 6 "al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh," while the plate seems to show neither form. On coin 69 "Muḥammad" is read in a phrase where "wa-wazīr" is the usual expression—before "khayr al-mursalīn"—with no comment and no plate. For coin 438 the variant of the mint Ṭarābulus is spelled Aṭarābulus instead of the correct Aṭrābulus.

The epithets of the imams are inconsistently treated. The fifth and eighth are correctly called, respectively, al-'Azīz bi'llāh and al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh, but the first, al-Mahdi bi'llāh, is listed merely as al-Mahdi, and the third, al-Manṣūr bi'llāh, as al-Manṣūr, though their coins carry the complete forms. The second imam is rightly called al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh, though he also appears on coins as al-Qā'im bi'llāh, but the sixth has the same final phase rendered, after al-Ḥākim, as bi-Amri'llāh, as has the twelfth after al-Ẓāfir. The thirteenth, al-Fā'iz, is completed by bi-Naṣri'llāh, where consistency suggests bi-Naṣr-Allāh.

Questionable listings in the appended table of known issues include Aylah for A.H. 314, long before the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt, and al-Mahdīyah for 447, while known coins for the latter mint dated 451 and 456 are omitted. Typographical errors range from 433, for 443, in the date list on page 34, and misspellings of Miṣr on page 8, except on page 23, area on page 29, and raḥīm on page 47 to the inevitable but commendably rare dropped diacritical and punctuation marks and the superfluous dot under the "s" of Qāsim on page 40.

The monograph as a whole does not suffer unduly from these few faults, but the limitation of treatment is disappointing. The lack of indices seriously restricts its utility, and the appended table is a tantalizingly insufficient substitute for the definitive corpus for which Dr. Miles has assembled the material. It is to be hoped that he will be able to prepare such a corpus for publication relatively soon, in which event the present item will take its place as a handy interim record of the specimens in America's two richest collections of Fāṭimid coins.

The supplement to Dr. Miles' fine study of early Arabic glass weights and stamps—number 111 in the same series, published in 1948—yields far more than might reasonably be expected. It fulfills its primary purpose by cataloguing 36 items acquired since the appearance of its predecessor, as well as a few noteworthy specimens not owned by the American Numismatic Society, and by duly listing corrections and additional references, but new material of great value is also included.

Dr. Miles has now identified the vessel stamps as the medieval equivalent of our druggists' labels on prescriptions and proprietary medicines, specifying the medicament contained and the quantity as attested by local prefects or inspectors. These pharmaceutical substances have been identified by Arabic, Latin, and English names, all fully indexed, and their medical uses have been ascertained, obviously by enthusiastic ad hoc research in a field of inquiry previously as alien to the author as to this reviewer. Among the substances thus discussed are woad-leaves (detested by Elizabeth of England), olive

oil (for which a complete jar with stamp is illustrated), lupine (versus worms and bed-bugs, among other uses), cumin of various colors (used with vinegar for hiccups), sesame-seed (said to be both a hair-tonic and an aphrodisiac), chick-peas (flatulent, lenitive, and diuretic according to Dioscorides), fennel (or perhaps dill), and lentils (as a blood tonic). These fascinating brief excursuses are bulwarked by a longer "digression on the history of the introduction of sugar cane into Egypt" and by notes on the individuals and weights named on the stamps. The whole is marked by careful transcriptions confirmed by fine plates and by thorough scholarship in diverse fields, yet it is readable in direct reflection of the author's disciplined enthusiasm.

Certain questions arise in the mind of a reader. One would like further sidelights on the fragments of ring-weights for meat: how they were applied, and to what viands? Was woad actually confused with indigo by Arab druggists, as stated on page 6, or was the name of one erroneously applied to the other? If the final word on number 8 is "wazn," why is the waw alone on the bottom line? (I tend to prefer Lane-Poole's reading "wāfi.") Why is "Allāh" used in the translations instead of its English equivalent "God"? Dr. Miles' polite dismissal of M. Jungfleisch's view that engravers' errors represented "an intentional expedient to distinguish the work of different workshops" is unquestionably correct.

Typographical errors are the sole blemish apparent to this non-pharmaceutical reviewer, but they are rather numerous. "7" should replace "3" on page 4, three lines from the bottom. On number 5 "an-" should be "al-". On number 14 the letter after "Yazīd" should be "b.", not "d.", while "H.A." in the commentary should be "A.H." On number 26 "Ibrāhim" needs a macron over the "i", and in the commentary al-Mahdi is spelt "al-Madhi." In number 30 one name is transliterated both "abī'l-'Abbās" and "abī-al-'Abbās," the date 934 is an error for 834, and "prefect" is ironically "perfect." The alif is dropped from the Arabic for "Allāh" in number 32. On page 36 consensus is spelt "concensus." In his first appearance on page 43 the dot is missing from the "t" of Suyūṭi. Fusṭāṭ is misspelt Fuṭsāṭ on pages 50 and 53. In the index under Abū'l-Wahhāb, Tamīm becomes "Tamīn"; "Ashinās" loses its macron, and al-Mutawakkil appears as "al-Mutawwakil."

Perhaps one final cavīl is permissible. Punctuation usage is of course largely personal, but the hyphen between an ordinal numeral and the word "century" serves to distinguish the adjectival use of such a phrase from the normal use. Thus, "in the eighth century," but "an eighth-century source," and so on. In this monograph the hyphen is regularly omitted. Such minor quibbles in no way diminish the fascination of this unassumingly-titled opus.

HARRY W. HAZARD

Princeton, N. J.

Yeni Redhouse Lûgati İngilizce-Türkçe. Revised Redhouse Dictionary English-Turkish. Edited by J. K. Birge, S. Huri, C. T. Riggs and A. Tietze. Istanbul, Amerikan Bord Neşriyat Dairesi, 1950. pp. xx, 1196.

This large volume represents a sixth revision of Sir James W. Redhouse's 47,000 word *English-Turkish Lexicon,* first printed in

1861. The fifth impression appeared in 1922 and is still sought after although it has long been out of print. This dictionary is, however, a completely new work containing over 60,000 definitions, including all the words which appear in both the Oxford Concise Dictionary and the Webster Student Dictionary with their modern Turkish counterparts in Latin characters. Large numbers of idioms, and specially prepared lists relating to disciplines such as anatomy, art, astronomy, botany, music, chemistry, economics, law, geography, medicine, philosophy, mathematics, military and naval science, sports and zoology, in addition to many other terms, appear in this edition for the first time. Numerous Latin and other foreign phrases current in English have been inserted in their alphabetical order for easy reference. A particularly helpful aid is the addition of a careful phonetic transcription of every word, together with an indication of where the accent should fall, and the syllabic content of each word. Readers with particular interests will find a very full bibliography of general and specialized dictionaries in Turkish and western languages. The grammatical explanation of certain points of English constructions which appears in Turkish, on page xvii, will be useful to Turkish users of the dictionary.

This singularly valuable contribution to our appreciation of the Turkish language is the product of more than eleven years of labor by Turkish, American and other scholars. It embodies a further revision of an original draft version completed in 1945, but never published.

Since 1940, a growing American interest in Turkey and the Near East has been paralleled by greater Turkish awareness of the U.S.A. Now, with the Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan assistance, and the inclusion of Turkey and Greece in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Turkish-American relations are very close. It remains sadly true that many Americans know even less about the dynamic new Turkey or her famous past than the Turks know about us. Various steps, some of them of very long duration, have been taken to correct this ignorance. The publication of this fine dictionary by the Publication Department of the American Board gives us all a tool to perfect our means of mutual intercommunication. Turkish and English speaking peoples alike stand in debt to Dr. John Kingsley Birge, graduate of Yale University and the Hartford Seminary Foundation, and director of the Publication Department of the American Board, to Charles T. Riggs, a former Princeton student, who stand together in a select line of Americans who have devoted their lives to service in Turkey; and to their Turkish and German colleagues for this seminal work. Let us be bold enough to express the hope that they and their sponsors may shortly produce another edition of Redhouse's companion work, the *Turkish-English Lexicon,* in the new Latin alphabet for the benefit of younger Turks and Americans unable to use the old edition which gives Turkish words in the Ottoman or Arabic characters.

HOWARD A. REED

Yale University,
New Haven, Conn.

Persia and the Victorians. By Marzieh Gail. London, George Allen and Unwin, 1951, pp. 170. 12s. 6d. net.

This book gives a brief presentation of Anglo-Persian relationship in Victorian times. Instead of stressing chronological sequence, the author spotlights various related facts showing the impact of Persian life and literature upon Victorian England.

The author traces the ways through which Persian culture reached England, down to their origin. The visit of Nasirid-Din Shah is believed to have been the first spectacular encounter of the British people with Persia. The beginnings of Britain's Indian Empire and the considerable number of 19th century British diplomats who were men of letters made England turn toward Persia.

Among these diplomats who used Persian either as scholars or with creative skill, the writer mentions Sir William Jones, the author of *A Grammar of the Persian Language,* who was the first modern to bring Persia to the West, a pioneer authority in Sufism and one of the first to champion Islamic scholarship in the West.

Chapter V gives a very interesting and amusing account of Sir Charles Murray's career as the Envoy and the Minister to the Court of Persia and of the Anglo-Persian war in 1756 which was brought to a close by the Treaty of Paris, whereby the Shah agreed to abstain from Afghanistan. The reader will be interested to know why "a little lady should be blamed for the big war."

Chapter IX describes the origin of the stories of Hajji Baba and their impact on the Western and Persian life. In speaking about the author of the books about Hajji Baba, the writer points out that Morier was an accurate reporter who slanted his material and exploited humorous elements. "He was incapable of not finding a Hajji Baba. He could have found one in Manhattan" (p. 74).

Among non-diplomatist Victorian scholars who are remembered for specialized contribution, the author mentions Edward Browne who ranks among creative and academic figures; Borrow, who added Persian to his collection of languages; Matthew Arnold who although he did not know Persian himself brought Persia's national epic, Sohrab and Rostum, to generations of English readers; and Sir Richard Burton who was the most complex of Victorians and a top ranking Orientalist, used Persian forms to disguise his own views. The reader realizes how the impact of Persian affected Victorian writers in a variety of ways.

The last chapters of the book deal with FitzGerald. The author gives a short summary of the historical figures Omar Khayyam and FitzGerald; their philosophy of life and the nature of their writings. There is a brief but comprehensive analysis of FitzGerald's actual work with the original texts of the Rubaiyyat. The author brings out the point that perhaps the real reason FitzGerald's translation is a masterpiece is that both poets shared the same philosophy of life.

This book is scholarly, readable and witty. The reader will not miss the humor of the author.

HELEN KHOOBYAR

Hartford Seminary Foundation,
Hartford, Conn.

Al-Fārābī's Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm

The Editor,
THE MUSLIM WORLD,
Sir,

In his review of Osman Amine's *La Statistique des Sciences* of Al-Fārābī, Professor Jeffery has wisely recommended that someone should "translate this interesting tractate into English." I was extremely pleased to read this because it was not long ago that I suggested that a group of Orientalists equipped in the various sciences covered by "the second master" ought to undertake such a work, volunteering myself as one to do the section on mūsīqī. I thought the latter suggestion a reasonable one, because I had already made a thorough study of the subject in the *Journal: Royal Asiatic Society* (1932) where I not only gave the Arabic text based on the only known sources—at that time—the Escorial, *al-'Irfan,* and Stambul, but also the text which occurs in the *Ṭabb al-nufūs* of Ibn 'Aqnīn (Bodleian Library MS.), together with ten Latin texts. It was republished in 1934 as "Al-Fārābī's Arabic-Latin Writings on Music" (No. 2 of my *Collection of Oriental Writers on Music*) and included a later study of mine on *De ortu scientiarum* which has also been attributed—wrongly in my opinion—to Al-Fārābī. In this I used eight Latin texts. In both of these treatises I gave English translations. I mention these points because Professor Jeffery does not appear to be aware of the existence of this work.

In point of time, my work was made public even earlier than that of the late Prof. Palencia, as I submitted mine to Glasgow University in July 1931, and in the September, whilst at the Congress of Orientalists at Leiden, I had the pleasure of hearing the Spanish Orientalist submit his paper, which we discussed together afterwards. Strange to say—perhaps whilst we two were chatting together—Osman Amine had issued his text of the *Iḥṣā'* at Cairo. The whole circumstance was so unusual that Professor Alfred Guillaume commented in the *Journal: Royal Asiatic Society* (Jan. 1933) that here was a work—the *Iḥṣā'*—which had been lying "unheeded for centuries", and then, within a few months, three workers—Palencia, Amine, and myself—each toiling without knowing of each other's activities, all produce recensions independently of each other.

In conclusion, may I make one observation concerning the Latin translations. Prof. Jeffery says: "A complete Latin translation by Gerard of Cremona has survived, as well as a partial translation by Dominicus Gundisalvi, who also translated his (Al-Fārābī's) *De ortu scientiarum*". The claim for Gerard appears to be well substantiated, but I doubt whether there is sufficient evidence for attributing a translation to Gundisalvus or Gundissalinus. This latter, I believe, had its origin in Jourdain and Leclerc, although, if it is accepted that John Avendehut is identical with John of Seville and/or John of Spain, then Gundisalvus may have assisted John of Seville in the translation which has survived under the name of the latter. This is a distinct and separate translation from that of Gerard of Cremona, as

I have stated elsewhere ("Sources of Arabian Music", p. 36). The extracts from *De scientiis*, i.e. the *Iḥṣā'*, in the *De divisione philosophiae* of Gundissalinus are from the version attributed to John of Seville.

Yours faithfully,
(SIGNED) HENRY G. FARMER

From Henry George Farmer,
Ph.D., D. Litt., Mus. Doc.,
Dār as-Salām, Sterling Drive,
Bearsden, Scotland
17th Nov., 1951

A New Institute of Islamic Studies

This year McGill University is opening an Institute of Islamic Studies as a part of its faculty of graduate studies and research in recognition of the importance to the West of a sound knowledge of Islamdom.

The Institute, made possible by a five-year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation of New York, will have Muslims as well as Christians both as teachers and students, cooperating in research and instruction. The Director is Dr. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Professor of Comparative Religion in the Divinity School Faculty.

An informative advertisement of this new venture is published in this issue of our Quarterly.

American Friends of the Middle East

A new organization with the above name has recently been founded by Miss Dorothy Thompson, the well-known publicist and a large company of prominent Americans, to promote, here and abroad, a better mutual understanding of the religious, cultural and social values and aspirations of the peoples in this country and those living in the whole area from Morocco to Pakistan.

The society aims to provide for the exchange of public opinion and information through newspapers and other publications, through student and lecturer exchange and by exhibitions of art and craft products. Americans interested in the welfare of the Middle East, including those of Near Eastern origin, are encouraged to participate in the work of the organization. The address is: 139 East 57th Street, New York 22, N. Y.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster

Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

Developments of the Quarter: Comment and Chronology. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. Autumn, 1951. pp. 481-496).

Covers from June 1—August 31, 1951.

The Education of Salame Musa. M. Perlmann. (In *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York. August-September, 1951. pp. 279-285).

A resumé of the autobiography of this distinguished Egyptian scientific and literary writer.

King Abdullah's Assassins. S. G. T. (In *The World Today,* London. October, 1951. pp. 411-419).

An account of the detection, apprehension, trial and execution of four of the killers. The other two escaped.

Near East Libraries. R. F. Ogden. (In the *Information Bulletin of the Library of Congress,* Washington, D. C. September 10, 1951. pp. 1-2).

Notes on Joseph A. Dagher's "Repertoire des Bibliothèques du Proche et du Moyen-Orient" which gives information about 260 libraries—location, history, resources.

II. ARABIA

Arabian Jubilee. H. St. J. Philby. (In *Pakistan,* Karachi. August, 1950. pp. 9-15; 24).

Describes fifty years of progress under King Ibn Sa'ud.

The Jews of Aden. Joseph B. Schechter. (In *Jewish Social Studies,* New York. April, 1951. pp. 138-148).

An historical article stressing particularly the events of the 19th and 20th centuries.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

The Cape Malays. Aysha Gamiet. (In *Pakistan,* Karachi. August, 1950. pp. 16-20; 60).

Tells of the origin and present condition of the 40,000 Muslims in the Capetown area.

An Inquiry into the History of the Hazara Mongols of Afghanistan. Elizabeth E. Bacon. (In *The Southwestern Journal of Anthropology,* Alberquerque, N. M. Autumn, 1951. pp. 230-247).

A well-documented study of this ancient people.

Political Organization in Islam. M. F. Hoballah. (In *Pakistan Horizon,* Karachi. March, 1951. pp. 3-11).

Traces the development of Muslim law and emphasizes the freedom enjoyed under its rule.

Science in Medieval Persia. H. J. J. Winter. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. July, 1951. pp. 244-258).

Describes the contributions of al-Bīrūnī, 'Umar Khayyām and Ibn Sīnā and touches on the development of the cities of Jūndī-shapūr, Baghdad and Marāgha.

IV. QUR'ĀN, TRADITION, THEOLOGY

Al-Hallaj. DeLacy O'Leary. (In *Philosophy East and West,* Honolulu. April, 1951. pp. 56-62).

A study of the tenets and influence of the Sufi saint who died in 922.

Puritans of the Sahara. H. Parmentier. (In *Worldmission,* New York. Winter, 1951. pp. 31-41).

An account of the Abadite sect in the valley of the Mzab Wadi, about 365 miles south of Algiers.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

An Agricultural Programme for East Pakistan. Werner Klatt. (In *The Twentieth Century,* London. July, 1951. pp. 43-51).

Discusses conditions in East Bengal and fears the failure of the Colombo Plan in that area unless legal provisions are enacted to safeguard cultivators and land laborers.

The Assimilation of Immigrants into Israel. Zena Harman. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. Summer, 1951. pp. 303-318).

In a country whose population has risen from 60,000 persons in 1919 to 1,300,000 in 1951, drastic rationing and austere living will be the rule for a long time to come.

Democracy Takes Root in Turkey. Kasim Gülek. (In *Foreign Affairs,* New York. October, 1951. pp. 135-144).

Analyses the political scene and finds that democratic possibilities can be traced back to 1839 when the Charter of Reforms came into being and when Turkish statesmen felt the advisability of adopting Western methods.

East Pakistan Comes to Life. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. July, 1951. pp. 229-232).

The province of Bengal, even without the great city and port of Calcutta, is developing rapidly and Dacca and Chittagong are handling an ever increasing volume of trade.

The Economic Relation between Syria and Lebanon. S. Yaari. (In *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York. October, 1951. pp. 315-322).

Surveys conditions since the abolishing of the thirty year old Customs Union in 1950 and believes that Syria has benefited by the change.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Asian Mentality and United States Foreign Policy. F. S. C. Northrop. (In *Annals,* Philadelphia. July, 1951. pp. 118-127).

Considers the unanimous opposition to American policy in Asia among Hindus and Muslims, despite their own great differences politically.

BRITAIN AND THE RISE OF ARAB NATIONALISM. Nevil Barbour. (In *The Fortnightly,* London. July, 1951. pp. 438-445).

Points out the causes for the good and bad aspects of Anglo-Arab relations.

VII. THE MIDDLE EAST

COMMUNISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Francis W. Anderson. (In *Worldmission,* New York. September, 1951. pp. 88-100).

Since the movement is illegal except in Israel, it is difficult to trace its growth, but the author, from the experience of five years' residence, discusses its position in the various countries and gives statistics when possible.

ECONOMIC FACTORS UNDERLYING SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN THE ARAB MIDDLE EAST. Sa'id B. Himadeh. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. Summer, 1951. pp. 269-283).

Describes the condition of the rural districts where lack of water, caused in part by waste, pressure of population and backward land systems result in incredible poverty and suffering with little being done to relieve it.

IRAN, AMERICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST. A. Th. Polyzoides. (In *World Affairs Interpreter,* Los Angeles. Summer, 1951. pp. 134-144).

A careful presentation of the Iranian oil crisis with its repercussions in so many countries.

VIII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

A SURVEY OF THE YEAR 1951: PAKISTAN; THE NEAR EAST; NORTH AFRICA. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London. January, 1952. pp. 23-24; 27-35).

Complete religious freedom and amazing Christian growth are reported from Pakistan and the rest of the Muslim world, with the exception of the Palestinian area, tells of encouraging progress though all stress the need for many more workers.

ISLAMIC THEOLOGY AND THE CHRISTIAN THEOLOGIAN. The Rev. Dr. W. M. Watt. (In *The Hibbert Journal,* London. April, 1951. pp. 242-248).

"The study of Islamic theology, by forcing Christians to think in terms of unfamiliar conceptions . . . , brings to his notice aspects of his own belief which he tends to neglect."

LOOK! LISTEN! LEARN! L. Sharpless. (In the *Egypt General Missions News,* London. April-June, 1951. pp. 29-36).

Account of a stimulating round of visits to the various mission stations. Issued in lieu of an annual report.

THE THEOLOGICAL TASK IN THE NEAR EAST. E. F. F. Bishop. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London. July, 1951. pp. 277-288).

"The Church of Christ is called to the exercise of a ministry vis-à-vis Islam—for it constitutes a greater problem than Jewry —involving reconciliation, interpretation, ultimately a sharing of experience."